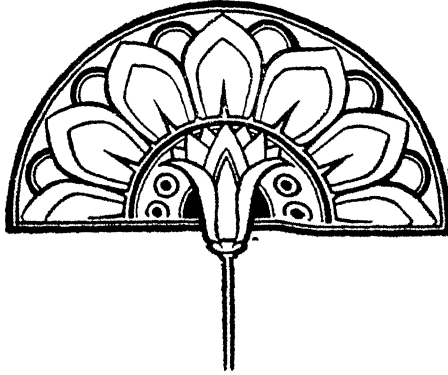
नव्योऽपि पूर्वतनवृत्तविचारवृद्धः
भव्यः स्वसंस्कृतिरहस्यविकासकारी ।
राधायुतो मधुरमूर्तिरयं विचित्रः
कं कं न मोदयति कौ कुमुदो मनीषी ॥

—श्री दशरथ शर्मा

✻ ज्ञानाग्निः समिध्यते ✻

BHĀRATA-KAUMUDĪ

[*Studies in Indology in honour of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji*]

PART I

PUBLISHED FOR THE COMMITTEE
BY
THE INDIAN PRESS, LTD.
ALLAHABAD
1945

EDITORIAL PREFACE

In publishing this Presentation Volume, the Editors have to make a few acknowledgements. They regret the delay in its publication owing to unavoidable conditions created by the War. The delay is an unfortunate contrast to the readiness and promptitude with which the learned writers contributed their valued Articles to the Volume in response to our request, and we cannot adequately express in words our gratitude to them. The number of writers and their Articles is indeed very gratifying but, at the same time, it has called for a division of the Volume, lest it becomes too bulky, into two handy Parts, each of which is to make up more than 500 printed pages.

We deeply deplore the premature passing away of several scholars who had been the promoters and signatories of the Scheme. The first is Dr. N. N. Sen Gupta who was Professor and Head of the Department of Philosophy at the Lucknow University, a colleague, and whilom pupil, of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji. His sad and sudden death has been a great blow to Dr. Mookerji personally and to us all. The death of Dr. V. S. Sukthankar and of Dr. R. Shama Sastry is equally sad for us. Their names are permanently linked up with the project initiated by them. We have also to express our profound sorrow at the passing away of that *doyen* of Orientalists, Dr. A. Berriedale Keith, Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology at the University of Edinburgh, who has added to the value of the Volume by his erudite Article.

The Volume in its two Parts is made up of Articles contributed by 75 learned scholars, each of whom has written on the subject of his special study. Such a

large number of papers naturally represent a wide range of subjects in the field of Indology and must make the Volume a very useful publication with its appeal to a variety of intellectual interests and aptitudes.

We owe the design on the cover to the renowned artist, Mr. A. K. Haldar, Principal of the Lucknow School of Art, and the portraits of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji to Mr. L. M. Sen, A.R.C.A. (London), of the same School, and to Mrs. Anne Aucott, another accomplished Artist.

The title *Bhārata-Kaumudī* has been considered as an appropriate one for a volume associated with Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji.

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I
INTRODUCTORY

In October, 1942, on the occasion of the meeting of the Indian History Congress at Hyderabad in the Nizam's dominion, a few friends of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji made a proposal which later emerged in the shape of the following Scheme.

* ज्ञानाग्निः समिध्यते *

PRESENTATION VOLUME AND LECTURESHIP FOUNDATION

IN HONOUR OF

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI, M.A., PH.D., M.L.C. (BENGAL), Itihāsa-Śiromaṇi (Baroda)

Professor and Head of the Department of History, Lucknow University

It is proposed to present to Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji a Volume of Studies in recognition of the long and distinguished services rendered by him in different spheres of national life. He stands out to-day as one of the best exponents of Indian History and Civilization of which the most important phases and aspects he has presented in a well-planned series of scholarly works. He is also a prominent figure in Indian public life upon which he has brought to bear in speeches and writings the wealth of his learning and historical knowledge. As a political thinker, he has subjected to scientific analysis some of the most complicated problems of modern India. Some of us remember how decades ago he threw the whole weight of his personality and great gifts, with considerable self-sacrifice, into the national education movement. As a teacher, he has few equals, and has impressed upon his

pupils for more than a generation the stamp of a new outlook and attitude which they gratefully recognize in their different fields of work.

It is also proposed to endow in his name a Lectureship of a suitable annual value in the subject of Indian History and Civilization at the University of Lucknow he has been serving.

We appeal to the many pupils, friends, and admirers of Dr. Mookerji, as also to patrons of Learning, for financial contributions. The total Scheme is estimated to cost Rs. 75,000.

Persons contributing Rs. 500/- or more in aid of the Scheme will be called *Patrons*, those paying Rs. 100/- *Donors* and those paying Rs. 25/- *Subscribers*. All classes of supporters will be entitled to receive the Presentation Volume free of charge.

Contributions are to be sent to the Honorary Treasurer c/o Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

The Signatories have pleasure in announcing that already a sum of over Rs. 60,000/- has been collected for the Scheme.

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III

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji is the son of late Gopalchandra Mookerji who, after a brilliant academic career, rose to be the leader of the Bar at Berhampore in the district of Murshidabad in Bengal, and achieved the high distinction of being appointed by the Calcutta University to the Tagore Law Professorship but, unfortunately, he did not live to deliver the Lectures. Heredity has thus been a favourable factor in the career of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji. The following biographical details are culled from the *Biographical Encyclopaedia of the World* issued by the Institute for Research in Biography in U.S.A., giving "authoritative biographies of the most important persons in the world."

He received his school education in his native town Berhampore (Bengal), and higher education at the Presidency College, Calcutta. Throughout his academic career he won first grade Government Scholarships. He obtained double Honours in the B.A. Examination in 1901 and established a record by taking his first M.A. Degree in History and the Cobden Medal in Economics in the same year in 1901. He obtained a second M.A. degree in English in 1902. In 1905 he achieved the unique distinction of winning by examination the coveted prize of the Calcutta University known as the Premchand Roychand Studentship of the value of Rs. 7,000/-, together with the Mouat Gold Medal. He obtained the Degree of PH.D. of that University in 1915.

He began his educational career as Professor of English at the Ripon College, and, later, at Bishop's College, Calcutta, in 1903. In 1906, he was appointed Hemchandra Basu Mallik Professor at National Council of Education, Bengal, and the Bengal National College, under the Principalship of Sri Aurobindo Ghosh. He

served as the first Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandy Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture at the Benares Hindu University in 1916, and as the first Professor of History at the Mysore University from 1917 to 1921. Since 1921, he has been serving as Professor and Head of the Department of History at the Lucknow University.

Among his public activities may be mentioned the following: He was elected a member of the Bengal Legislative Council (the Upper House) on the nomination of the Indian National Congress, and Leader of the Opposition in 1937, and from 1939 to 1940 he served as a member of the Bengal Land Revenue Commission (known as the Floud Commission) by deputation from the Lucknow University to the Bengal Government. He organized the Bengal Anti-Communal Award Committee of which he became the Secretary along with Mr. T.C. Goswami, the present Finance Minister of the Bengal Government, with the Poet Rabindra Nath Tagore as its President, Sir B.C. Mahtab, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, as its working President, Dr. Sarat Chandra Chatterji, the Novelist, and Hirendra Nath Datta, the Philosopher, as its Vice-Presidents.

He has been invited to participate and lead many of the cultural movements of the country with which his special study bears filiation. He was elected a Sectional Chairman at the All-India Oriental Conference at its Mysore session, and also at the Indian History Congress at Lahore in 1940. He presided over the United Provinces Secondary Education Conference at its Meerut session, and at the All-Bengal Teachers' Conference at Khulna in Bengal. He also presided at the Vikramāditya celebration organized by the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at Amritsar and is the General Editor of the Vikramāditya Commemoration Volume of the Gwalior Government.

He was invited to deliver Extension Lectures by the Mysore University at several centres in the Mysore State; the Manindra Lectures by the Benares Hindu University; a series of Lectures at the Panjab University; a Course of Readership Lectures at the Calcutta University; Lectures at the Bombay and Osmania Universities; Extension Lectures at the Annamalai University; Sir William Meyer Lectures at the Madras University; inaugural Addresses at the Hyslop College, Nagpur, and Hitkarini Law College at Jubbulpore; and Anniversary Addresses at the Bihar Research Society, at Patna, and Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute at Poona.

The Government of Baroda has awarded to him the Śrī Sayaji Rao Gaekwad Prize of Rs. 7,000/-, and conferred upon him the title of *Itihāsa Śiromaṇi*.

During the stirring times, 1906-15, he threw himself heart and soul into the various national movements of the country and was placed in charge of a number of economic organizations aiming at the development of indigenous commercial enterprise such as the Co-operative Hindustan Bank of Calcutta, and also toured the districts of Bengal as a missionary of the National Education Movement.

Dr. Mookerji's grip upon Ancient Indian Culture and his religious outlook have also brought him into close contact with several religious and political movements aiming to make Hinduism more dynamic and a factor of harmony amid the clashes of creeds. He has been elected as a Vice-President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha for a number of years, President of the All-India Hindu Youths' Conference at its Lahore session, President of Assam Citizens' Association, and President of the *Akhaṇḍa Bhārata* Conference and of its Standing Committee.

Dr. Mookerji is the author of the following works:

1. *A History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity from the Earliest Times* [Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1912]. The Foreword to this work was written by that distinguished Savant, the late Sir Brajendra Nath Seal.

On this work Lord Curzon wrote to the author: "It is a subject well worthy of treatment, which seems to have escaped the notice of previous students and I congratulate you on having made so useful a contribution to our knowledge of India."

The late Dr. Vincent A. Smith wrote to the author that the book "is a possession which deserves to be treasured. The illustrations which you have brought together with so much labour are a history in themselves. Every authority on the subject has been ransacked and I cannot suggest any omissions. If I live to bring out a third edition of my *Early History*, I shall not fail to make use of the new material supplied by you. You have done good service by placing on record in scholarly fashion a full account of India's old-world achievements in the shipping line."

The late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, in a long Article on the work in the *Hindusthan Review* for 1913, wrote: "Professor Mookerji's work is one of the first attempts by Indians to present a systematic survey of the secular activities of the Hindu race. As a pioneer in his subject, he has fully succeeded in his enterprise. The Volume is a production on which both the author and its country may be congratulated. The book is a mine of information and a monument of patient and scholarly work. It will remain indispensable to the student of Indian History for a long time. Any praise for the conception of the book cannot be too high."

The Shipping World, London, wrote : "This is a book to be read from cover to cover."

The London *Times* stated : "Mr. Mookerji has selected a fascinating and almost untrodden field of historical research. He has compressed masses of information into a compact and fluent narrative. He is evidently one of that small but growing band of Indians who are determined to wipe out the reproach that the historical faculty is dead within their race."

The *Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury* wrote : "He tells a well-arranged connected tale in excellent nervous English, he makes the dry bones live, and shows a picture of Eastern Seas both illuminating and fascinating. In the words of Principal Brajendra Nath Seal who supplies an introductory note, 'the signal merit of this survey is that these facts of history are throughout accompanied by their political, social, or economic interpretation, so that the monograph is not a mere chronicle of facts, but a chapter of unwritten culture-history conceived and executed in a philosophical spirit.' One great merit of the book is its pioneering mission."

2. *The Fundamental Unity of India* (From Hindu Sources) [Longmans Green & Co., London, 1914].

This book had its Foreword from the Right Hon. J. Ramsay MacDonald, ex-British Premier, who wrote: "To those who follow the work of the band of Indian historical students who are struggling, with no great measure of encouragement, to found a School native to the soil and inspired by Indian tradition, Mr. Mookerji's books need no introduction, especially since he published his *History of Indian Shipping*."

The substance and importance of the work are thus brought out by Dr. F. W. Thomas, the late Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford: "In a country marked by so

many diversities of climate, race, usage, and belief, it seems to me that it was worth while to draw attention to the idea of unity which you have rightly traced in a variety of geographical and political conceptions, and in the possession of a common fund of culture which we may term Brahmanic and which has in fact spread beyond the bounds of India itself, dominating a wider sphere by you aptly named Greater India. Your work is characterised by much learning."

3. *Local Government in Ancient India* with Foreword of Lord Crewe [Clarendon Press: Oxford]. On this book Lord Haldane wrote: "The book bears closely on the problems in the West . . . The history of Ancient India shows how organic growth solves questions that are not capable of treatment from any mechanical point of view alone. The life of a nation consists in growth, and not in external causation. Apart from the substance of the work, I found its literary form very attractive."

Lord Bryce wrote: "The distinction you draw between the State and Society in early India as compared with European countries is to me very illuminative. We Westerners are always too prone to think our structure of society and government to be typical. Is the difference visible in India due to the separation of religious and ecclesiastical organisation and power from civil? If so, one might expect some parallel in ancient Egypt. Or is it due to the independent origin and growth of local communities?"

The Right Hon. J. Ramsay MacDonald wrote in the *Socialist Review*: "The young school of Indian historical study is producing some interesting results and I am glad to add Professor Mookerji's *Local Government in Ancient India* to those I already possess. His book will give the modern student of industrial and political theories many interesting illustrations of most up to date ideas."

Professor E. J. Rapson wrote in the *English Historical Review*: "All will feel grateful to him for the real service which he has rendered to scholarship by collecting together and arranging in a convenient form the widely scattered evidence for the early history of local government in India".

4. *Nationalism in Hindu Culture* (First Volume in the Asian Library Series, London).

5. *Men and Thought in Ancient India* [Macmillan and Co., London].

London Daily News wrote on this book:—"We know of no recent small book better than this as an introduction to the wonderful past of India".

The Near East wrote:—"Dr. Mookerji has produced the most interesting book on the history of Hindu and Buddhist India which has yet come into our hands".

6. *Harsha* [Rulers of India Series, Oxford; *Calcutta University Readership Lectures*].

7. *Asoka* (Gaekwad Lectures) [Macmillan and Co., London].

8. *Hindu Civilization* [Longmans Green and Co., London].

9. *Ancient Indian Education* (A book of over 700 pages about to be published by Macmillan and Co., London).

10. *Early Indian Art* (Indian Press, Allahabad).

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12. *Chandragupta Maurya and his Times* [Sir William Meyer Lectures, Madras University].

13. *India's Land-System*, Ancient, Mediaeval, and Modern [Published by the Bengal Government and also published as a part of Vol. II of the Report of the Bengal Land-Revenue Floud Commission].

14. *A New Approach to the Communal Problem* (Padma Publications, Ltd., Bombay).

15. *Gupta Empire* (In the Press).

III

PROGRESS OF THE SCHEME

The cost of the Scheme was originally estimated at Rs. 10,000/- but thanks to the spontaneous and generous support of some of its sponsors and signatories the estimate was exceeded in a very short time and raised to Rs. 15,000/-, and later to Rs. 30,000/-, with the growing volume of support forthcoming for the Scheme. As we are going to the Press, the total collections for the entire Scheme including the publication of this Volume and the foundation of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji Lectureship at the Lucknow University have exceeded Rs. 60,000/-. The Lectureship has already been instituted by the Lucknow University on the basis of the originally stipulated endowment of Rs. 30,000/- which the Committee has already transferred out of its funds to the University.

The Committee has transferred to the Lucknow University further sums of Rs. 8000/- and Rs. 1000/- by which the University has instituted respectively two post-graduate Radha Kumud Mookerji Scholarships and one Radha Kumud Mookerji Gold Medal to be awarded annually at its Convocation to the best B.A. of the year.

The Committee expresses its profound gratitude to the Patrons, Donors and Subscribers who by their generous contributions have helped to make the Scheme such a complete success in such a short time in spite of the difficult and depressing conditions created by the War. The Committee cannot but feel gratified that the love of India's culture keeps burning in so many hearts against the blackout of militarism and the clouds of worldwide despondency.

IV

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V
MESSAGES

1. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

In the midst of blinding and bitter political controversy that sometimes seemed to obscure the very stars, my old friend, Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, has kept alive and undimmed his true Brahminical devotion to learning.

So rare is such single-hearted zeal in the pursuit of knowledge in our troubled age of confused and conflicting activities that it cannot fail to evoke genuine admiration from all those who love and honour scholarship.

I am happy to associate myself with the well-earned public tribute to one who has enriched the world's conception of Ancient Indian Culture, Civilization, and History by his patient, monumental, and memorable labours.

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2. The Hon. Sardar Sir Jogendra Singh, Education Member, Governor-General's Council.

My dear Mookerji,

I am delighted that your distinguished career is finding recognition by all those who have admired your steadfast devotion in promoting knowledge. I need hardly say that I join my friends to honour you by the publication of the book and in the foundation of a Lectureship in the Lucknow University. I consider it a

pleasure and a privilege to be associated with the movement.

You can use this letter in any way you like.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) Jogendra Singh,
Education Member,
Government of India

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3. The Hon. Mr. N. R. Sarker, Member, Governor-General's Council.

New Delhi
31st August, 1942.

I heartily associate myself with the proposal to honour my esteemed friend, Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, in recognition of the great services rendered by him in the sphere of scholarship and learning, and also to the public life of the country.

I wish the movement all success.

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4. The Hon. Mr. M. S. Aney, Member, Governor-General's Council.

In the railway saloon on way to Madras.

2nd August, 1942.

My dear Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji,

I received a copy of a printed appeal over the signatures of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and a large number of distinguished Indian scholars and gentlemen interested in the study of Indian History and Civilisation. I am delighted to read that so many distinguished Indians have now definitely decided to express their appreciation of the scholarly work done by you in a spirit of selfless service of the motherland, in some tangible form. I promise my whole-hearted cooperation with the signatories in their laudable efforts to honour you by the publication of a Presentation Volume and the foundation of a Lectureship in the Lucknow University. I consider it an honour and a privilege to be associated with the movement and therefore thank the organisers and signatories for sending me a copy of the Appeal.

You have my permission to treat me as a signatory to the Appeal, if that is in the opinion of the organisers least likely to promote the objects which they have at heart. In token of my consent, I put in my signature on the printed copy enclosed herewith.

With my kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. S. Aney,
Member, Governor-General's Council.

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pristine glories of that remote past. For those select few who possess the necessary "apparatus critic," Dr. Mookerji has produced numerous erudite disquisitions on subjects that excite and delight the intellect of the researcher, and provide abundant food for thought and study.

As a comparatively callow neophyte in the Hindu pantheon, but an inveterate worshipper at the shrine of Clio, it is to another aspect of Dr. Mookerji's work that I would fain pay a meed of tribute and admiration. I refer to his unique and inimitable felicity of style. For one who has never left the shores of this sub-continent, the biographer of Harsha enjoys a truly remarkable command of the English language. His sense of the correct word and turn of phrase is quite extraordinary, and he exercises meticulous care in the selection of the proper expression to render precisely and euphoniously the idea which he wishes to impart. By his gift of lucid and harmonious diction, he has won for himself a multitude of admiring readers, not only among professional scholars and historians, but also in the rank and file of students throughout and beyond India, as well as from the public at large.

It is devoutly to be hoped that some day Dr. Mookerji will be able to pay a visit to the ancient Colleges on the banks of the Cam and the Isis. When he does so, the author of *Men and Thought in Ancient India* will find himself to be no stranger in the Universities of Milton and Dr. Johnson. He who has so patiently mastered the idiom of Shakespeare has been admitted already into the intimate inner circle of that ever-growing family of English-speaking peoples in whose hands and hearts and minds the future destiny of mankind so largely rests.

---

9. M. Rathnaswamy, Vice-Chancellor, Annamalai Uni versity.

May I also be permitted to add my congratulations to those that Professor Radha Kumud Mookerji will receive from the numerous admirers of his work in and for Indian History? I remember as a young student 40 years ago reading his *History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity* and admiring his patriotic work. Ever since then I have read other books of his and have admired the sobriety and soundness of his historical writing. I am glad honour is being done to one who by his historical work has done so much to promote the study of the achievements of our people.

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10. Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, M.L.A., D.Litt., Vice-Chancellor, Patna University.

For now nearly forty years Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee has represented the true type of a historian, and upheld the banner of Indian scholarship. His work on the history of ancient India, and on the lives of some of her greatest sons, have not only revolutionised Indian thought, but raised Indian culture in the estimation of foreign *Savants*. His rich and rare scholarship, and his intense devotion to learning, have been widely appreciated through the length and breadth of India, and it is but fitting that a well-deserved public tribute should be paid to one who has enriched the literature of ancient Indian civilization, culture, and history, by his monumental works, which are the result of infinite patience and profound learning.

11. N. N. Sen Gupta, Professor of Lucknow University.

Professor Radha Kumud Mookerji is well-known as a scholar, as a thinker, as a public man who brings to bear his great insight upon the manifold porblems of national life, and as a University Don who has enriched the academic life of several great institutions of learning. There are many who may speak with much greater authority than I can command on each of these phases of Professor Mookerji's wide and varied field of work. I reserve for myself the humble task of paying a tribute to his deft mental touch which unawares has spelt *Open Sesame* to new vistas of life for so many of those who have sat at his feet. I feel particularly attracted to this aspect of Professor Mookerji's work which I am tempted to value more than his other achievements that have already received their meed of high praise. I may aptly describe it as Professor Mookerji's technic of inducing personal *Aufklarung* in his pupils. I am one of his oldest pupils and can speak therefore on this topic with some authority which need not bow to the great learning and eminence of other collaborators in this Volume.

I was sitting at my desk in a kerosene-oil lit room in my College hostel one winter's dusk when smoke prevailed over darkness in driving out the last light of the day. Professor Mookerji was then on the staff of the Bengal National College and came to the humble abode of his pupils which in more senses than one was called a Mess in those days. Some one was ill; the Professor had come to see him. He found me accidentally at study. I thought myself rather lucky in being caught at so laudable a pursuit. But did I notice a slight frown in the Professor's visage? "Why do you read so much? I have heard that you grind in and out of time." Good! My reputation had reached my teacher's ears, but alas! the

frown indicated reproof! "You get only half the material from what you hear and read; for the other half you have to feel your way into your own mind. Hold before your intent attention every uncertain thought. You will thus learn more than by reading many books." I have read many books and have won my humble share of academic success in my day. The subtle frown, the quiet assurance of the advice, has helped me many times across the intellectual no-man's land. I cannot do better than to contribute a paper on the technique of attention as a memento of this occasion.

---

12. Dewan Bahadur Harbilas Sarda, Ajmer.

Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji is at once a man of letters and a man of public affairs. His mind is versatile: his interests are wide. History, Economics, Literature, Sociology and Politics,—nothing is foreign to his cultivated mind. With a facile pen and an ease of expression, Nature has endowed him also with a keen intellect and a feeling heart.

He first came into prominence in the opening years of the century with his *History of Indian Shipping*, which established his reputation as a research scholar. Since then, he has written a number of important and valuable books and has devoted himself to the solution of various literary, social and political problems that have been and are agitating the people of India. In addition to writing books, he has delivered discourses and lectures in all parts of India. His laudable work in the cause of Hindu culture including his valuable contributions which have helped in bringing success to the Hindu Sabha is well-known.

But the most valuable work for which he is famous in this country is in connection with the problem of the Minorities in India. His profound knowledge of the question as dealt with in the various countries of Europe, his keen logical mind, his impartial and sound judgment, his great industry and intellectual integrity, his true patriotism and love of India, he has brought all these to the clarification and proper solution of this important question—a question whose importance has been magnified beyond all due proportions by the British Government using it as a permanent and irremovable barrier across the path of India's National progress and as an excuse for withholding from the people of India their right of full self-government.

I was present when he first addressed the members of the Central Legislature several years ago in one of the spacious rooms in the Council Chamber, New Delhi, on this subject, and was struck by the perspicacity of his vision, the clearness of his presentation of the various aspects of the question, his knowledge of its history in the various countries of Europe, and the proper perspective in which he put this question in relation to the various political problems of the country.

I have had several interesting talks with him at Ajmer where he was my guest in 1933, in Delhi, and in Lucknow, on historical, social and political subjects and have derived great pleasure in listening to his elucidation of them.

He occupies a unique position in the literary circles of India. In England, France, Germany and other countries of Europe, University Professors render important services to their countries by applying their expert knowledge of current economic, political and social questions and writing treatises and making contributions to important journals on questions of foreign policy, cur-

rency, exchange, emigration, labour, trade and commerce, and thus materially assist in their solution in the best interests of their countries. Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji is the best known of the University Professors in India who do this work. As India is under foreign domination, many such questions that arise in England do not arise in this country in the same forms. But other questions such as those of the Minorities; primary, secondary and technical education; social reform; emancipation of women; uplift of the Harijans; Provincial and Imperial taxation; development of industries; expansion of the Universities; specialisation of studies; relations with the Indian States that are of vital importance to the progress of the country, do arise and demand that the best brains in India should be continually employed in their proper treatment and solution. And Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji has employed all his talents and ungrudgingly given his time to the solution of them all. Like Professor J.M. (now Lord) Keynes in England, he has placed his knowledge and his fine intellect at the service of the Indian Nation. Though owing to the peculiar political conditions prevailing in India, his influence in moulding the policy of the country in political and economic matters so as to serve the best interests of the country has not been so decisive as that of Professor Keynes and others in England, he has rendered valuable service to the nation by putting the intelligent people in India in possession of the essentials of the various political, economic and social questions, on the proper solution of which depend the progress and prosperity of the country.

THE FIVE INDIAN ORDERS OF PILLARS AND THEIR COMPONENT PARTS

BY

PROF. P. K. ACHARYA, I.E.S., M.A., PH.D., D.LITT.,
Head of the Sanskrit Department, Allahabad University.

The synonyms of the column as given in the *Mānasāra Vāstuśāstra*[1] indicates both its evolution and history: *jaṅghā, charaṇa, stalī, stambha, aṅghrika, sthāṇu, sthūṇa, pāda, skambha, araṇi, bhāraka* and *dhāraṇa*. The order in which they are found mentioned in the Sanskrit verse does not, however, imply the process of evolution, because there is no fixed rule of syntax even in Sanskrit prose. Thus the sequence, so far as these terms are concerned, does not imply the antiquity of their use. The derivative or etymological meanings of the terms, however, show the purpose for which they were *originally* used. The term, *jaṅghā*, probably derived from the root, *gam* (to go), means the shank or the lower leg from the ankle to the knee, which is the lowest part of the body. Similarly, *charaṇa*, derived from the root, *char* (to move), also means the foot. The next term should be read, not as *stalī* or *tali* which does not occur in ordinary Sanskrit, but as *talī*, a coined term meaning that which possesses *tala* or bottom (*i.e.*, base and pedestal as the pillars are found with). The term, *stambha*, is well known in Sanskrit literature, and has been frequently used in the sense of a post, pillar, column, stem, also arm; all these meanings are derived from the

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[1] जंघा च चरणं चैव स्तली स्तम्भमङ्घ्रिकम् ।
स्थाणु स्थूणं च पादं च क(स्क)म्भमरणि भारकम् ॥
धारणं द्वादशं नाम पर्यायोक्तं पुरातनैः ।

(Chap. XV, 2—5).

root, *stambh* (to support, strengthen, stop, arrest, stiffen, make rigid or immovable). About the next term, *aṅghrika,* although the verbal root is not quite certain, *aṅghri* has been used always to mean foot as well as root. The term *sthāṇu*, is less frequently used, but its derivation is clear from the root, *sthā* (to stand firm, fixed, immovable) and is used in the sense of a stump, stem, trunk, stake, post, pile, and pillar as symbol of motionlessness. *Sthūṇa* is obviously connected with *sthāṇu*[2] and must have been derived from the same root, *sthā* (to stand) and is used almost in the same sense of a post, pillar, stake, column, and beam.[3] The terms *pāda* and *pada* are frequently used in the sense of foot and are derived in a curious manner from a root *pad* (to stand fast or fixed) like the root of *stambh;* this sense is, however, derived from foot itself (*pada*) instead of deriving the sense of foot from the verbal root. *Skambha* is conjectured to be a phonetic variety of *stambha* and is derived from the root *skambh*, which like *stambh*, means to prop, support, fix, establish, to make firm and thus means a prop, support, pillar, buttress, fulcrum. But the sense in which it is used in the *Atharva-Veda* (X, 7, 8), *viz.*, Brahman, Purusha, Supreme Being, has indicated the pillar as the Regulator of the whole structure of a house. The term *araṇi*, derived from an uncertain root meaning, 'being fitted into,' or 'turning round,' implies the pieces of wood for kindling fire by attrition; the justification of its use as the synonym for a pillar is probably derived

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[2] Sir Monier Williams surmises in his *Dictionary* that both these terms are used for *sthūlna* which may be connected with *sthūla* meaning grossness, bulkiness. (*Sonskrit-English Dictionary.*)

[3] This sense of beam has been derived from a wrong notion (by Macdonnell, Vedic Index) that the Indians of the Vedic period did not know the art of building well-designed dwellings so that they could only use wooden or bamboo beams across the straw roofs of thatched cottages.

from its use in the sense of mother in the *Harivaṁśa* (Cf. *Pāṇḍavāraṇi* and *Surāraṇi*); this sense also will indicate the pillar as the regulator of a building. *Bhāraka* is a simple derivative from *Bhāra* or load and implies the pillar which supports the roof-load. Similarly, *dhāraṇa* is easily derived from the root *dhṛi* to hold or support, *i.e.*, doing the same function as the house-pillar performs.

There are, however, free-standing pillars which do not support any load. Of these twelve synonyms some would imply the free-pillars, some would indicate the house-pillars and the others may be used to imply both the functions. But in literature including the avowedly architectural texts these distinctions have been lost and it will serve no purpose in trying to classify them here. In the Vedic texts, however, the terms *upamit* (pillar), *parimit* (cross beams), and *pratimit* (props) are referred to.[4] The extant pillars make it, however, clear that amongst numerous groupings[5] their classification into free-standing and roof-bearing varieties is necessary in order to understand their different functions and structural features.

The sacrificial posts (*yūpa-stambha*) of the Brāhmaṇas, the lamp-bearing pillars of the Jains, and the lion-pillars of Asoka of Buddhistic faith may be referred to

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[4] For further details see the writer's *Indian Architecture* (1927), p. 6.

[5] See the writer's *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, pp. 850—852, *e.g.*, banner (or flag-bearing), basava, benefaction, beauty, boundary, brahmadeva, composite, corn, crocodile, devotion, diamond, dwarf, eagle, edict, elephant, fan, fan-palm, fortune, foundation, four-faced, free, ganda-bheranda, gate, gold, granite, honour, human, iron, lakshmī, lamp-bearing, lamp-stand, lion, main, memorial, monkey, monolith, monumental, octagonal, phallus, piety, pleasure, projecting, quadrangular, religious, sacrificial, satī, sixteen-sided, stone, thieves, thirty-two-sided, town, trident, umbrella, unshaken, upper, victory, wall, war, welfare, etc. For those pillars which bear only Sanskrit names, *vide* p. 850, column 1.

as examples of free-pillars. The pillars employed singly or in rows both in Hindu, Jain, and Buddhist monuments may be cited as the examples of the other variety. The functional differences between these two varieties are numerous, but the chief one is that the free pillars are for mere show, while the house-pillars are employed both for show as well as to support the load of the roof upon them. Thus their capital or top-most portion becomes less prominent than that of the free pillars. Hence in the matter of construction also deeper foundation is necessary for the free-pillars and greater strength is needed for the house-pillars on whose soundness the whole structure largely depends.

Although from the etymological sense of the synonyms the pillars indicate the foot or lower part only, their features, however, are analogous with the whole human body. There are the capital or head, the neck, the middle body or the shaft, the leg or base (*adhishṭhāna*), the foot or pedestal (*upa-pīṭha*). In case of free-pillars there are placed some decorative or symbolic animal, bird, or human body upon their capitals, while upon the capital of house-pillars and below the roof there is a running wall known as entablature (*prastara*). This is employed to keep away glare into the room as well as to serve as a decoration. A part of the entablature between two pillars is further beautified being turned into an arch which serves the double purpose of decoration and uniform distribution of the load of the structure above towards the arch-pillars or the arch-walls as the case may be. Thus the four component parts of the both varieties of the pillars, from the bottom upwards, are the pedestal (*upapīṭha*), the base (*adhishthāna*), the shaft (*stambha-bapus*), and the capital (*bodhikā*). Overlooking the analogy with the human body some pillars are constructed with the base alone and the pedestal is

altogether omitted. Strictly following the rules such constructions should be considered defective, although there is both an economic as well as an aesthetic reason for such a defect.

The term, *upapīṭha* for pedestal, is familiar in Sanskrit language, formed of *upa* (upper) and *pīṭha* (probably from the root *sad*, to seat upon, hence a stool, seat, chair, bench, any flat surface) and easily means foot. But in pillar it would include the lower leg upto the knee-joint.[6] It is composed of mouldings, as given in the standard text, *Mānasāra*, varying from five to twenty-seven, *viz.*, *upāna* (plinth), *kampa* (fillet), *mahāmbuja* (large cyma), *kshudrābja* (small cyma), *kampa* (fillet), *antarita* (fillet), *kampa* (fillet), *padma* (cyma), *paṭṭika* (fillet), *padma* (cyma), *kampa* (fillet), *gala* (dado), *uttara* (fillet), *kampa* (fillet), *ambuja* (cyma), *ardha-kampa* (half fillet), *prativājana* (cavetto), *antarita* (fillet), *karṇa* (ear-pattern ornament), *uttara* (fillet), *kampa* (fillet), *padma* (cyma), *kapota* (corona), *āliṅga* (fillet), *antarita* (fillet), *gala* (dado), *uttara* (fillet). Twelve varieties of pedestals are described in the *Mānasāra*, under three classes, *vedibhadra*, *pratibhadra* and *mañchabhadra*,[7] of which the common term, *bhadra*, means 'seat' and *vedi* (platform), *prati* (upper), and *mañcha* (stage, dais) imply the upper portion.

The term, *adhishṭhāna*, for base, formed from the root *sthā* (to stand), denotes an object on which something stands. Thus it implies the stand or base of the column, being the member between the shaft and the

[6] The pedestal is not only placed under the base of a column or pilaster (wall-pillar), but frequently employed, both singly and together with the latter, as a pavement for temples and porticoes, over cornices of edifices, and also as a platform for thrones and as seats for statues.

[7] Writer's *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, pp. 88—91, cf. pp. 94—96. For illustration see Plate II, top figure.

pedestal if there be any.[8] Like the pedestal the base is also composed of numerous mouldings varying from seven to twenty three, *viz.*, *janman* (plinth), *kshudra-vājana* (small fillet), *vapra* (cavetto), *padma* (cyma), *āsana* (seat, flat fillet), *ratna-vapra* (jewelled cavetto), *kampa* (fillet), *nimna* (drip), *kampa* (fillet), *abja* (cyma), *ratna-paṭṭa* (jewelled fillet), *kampaja* (fillet), *kampa* (fillet), *kandhara* (dado), *kampa-padma* (fillet and cyma), *karṇa* (ear-pattern ornament), *vājana* (fillet), *abja* (cyma), *kapota* (dove-cot), *āliṅga* (fillet), and *prativājana* (fillet). In the *Mānasāra*[9] (Chap. XIV) as many as sixty-four varieties of bases are described in great detail under nineteen different types called *pāda* (foot)-*bandha* (band), *uraga* (snake)-*bandha*, *pratikrama*, *kumuda* (lily)-*bandha*, *padma-keśara* (lotus-filament pattern), *pushpa-pushkala* (flower pattern), *śrī-bandha*, *mañcha-bandha*, *śreṇī-bandha*, *padma* (lotus)-*bandha*, *kumbha* (jug)-*bandha*, *vapra* (bridge)-*bandha*, *vajra* (club)-*bandha*, *śrībhoga*, *ratna* (gem)-*bandha*, *paṭṭa-bandha*, *kukshi-bandha*, *kampa-bandha* and *Śrīkānta*.[10]

The third component part from bottom upwards of a complete pillar, known as shaft in English, is really the *stambha* proper of which the other synonyms have been discussed above. The exact equivalent of the shaft would be *stambha-bapus* (body of the pillar) but this coined phrase is met with neither in the basic text, *Mānasāra*, nor in other and later texts on *Vāstu-śāstra*. Like those of the pedestals and bases there are special mouldings which compose the shaft and these mouldings are of

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[8] It is also used to imply the basement or the lowest member of a building.

[9] See the writer's *Dictionary*, pp. 36-37. For illustration see Plate II, middle figure.

[10] These epithets imply the general design and the pattern. The illustrations in the writer's *Architecture of Mānasāra*, Volume V, plates XXXI—XLIII, may give an idea.

much historical and technical interest. According to the *Mānasāra* the basic mouldings are of five kinds,[11] while according to the *Suprabhedāgama*, there are two sets of seven mouldings,[12] one set referring to the column of the main building and the other to that of the pavilion. They number eight in the *Matsya-Purāṇa*,[13] the *Bṛihat-saṁhitā*,[14] and *Kiraṇa-tantra*,[15] exactly like those of the Greco-Roman orders.[16]

In the *Mānasāra* the *five* mouldings are called *bodhikā*, *mushṭi-bandha*, *phalakā*, *tāṭikā* and *ghaṭa*. In the *Suprabhedāgama* the one set of *seven* mouldings are designated as *daṇḍa*, *maṇḍi*, *kaṇṭha*, *kumbha*, *phalakā*, *vīra-kaṇṭha* and *potikā;* and the other set of *seven* as *bodhikā*, *uttara*, *vājana*, *mūrdhikā*, *tulā*, *jayantī* and *tala*. In the *Matsya-purāṇa*, *Bṛihat-saṁhitā*, and *Kiraṇatantra*, the set of eight mouldings composing the shaft comprises *vāhana*, *ghaṭa*, *padma*, *uttaroshṭha*, *bāhulya*, *hāra* (? *bhāra*), *tulā*, and *upatulā*. In each of these three, rather four, lists there are unmistakable terms,[17] which imply the head, face, neck, etc., showing thereby that the Indian *stambha* is not merely the shaft but also includes the capital. The actual identification of these mouldings with those of the Greco-Roman orders has

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11 *Mānasāra*, XLVII, pp. 16—18.

12 *Suprabhedāgama*, XXXI, 56—60, 107-108.

13 *Matsya-purāṇa*, Chap. 255, 1—6.

14 *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā*, VIII, 29-30.

15 *Kiraṇa-tantra*, *J.R.A.S.*, (*N.S.*), VI, 285, notes 1, 2.

16 Gwilt, *Encyclopedia of Architecture*, Art. 2532, Fig. 867—874.

17 *E.g.*, *bodhikā* from the root *budh*, to know, is the centre of knowledge or brain and implies the head; *kumbha* and *ghaṭa* lit., jug, would also imply the head or forehead; *kaṇṭha* is clearly neck which lies between the head and the middle body; *uttara* and *uttaroshṭha* are the lower lip; *mūrdhikā* is the top of the head; *padma* or lotus is obviously for the (lotus-like) face. Similarly *hāra* (bead or chain) is clearly an ornament which is used both for the head and the neck.

been discussed elsewhere.[18] Each of the set of *eight* Greco-Roman mouldings like the Indian mouldings is expressed by more than one designation as has been the case in various Sanskrit texts, viz., (1) the ovalo, echinus or quarter round, (2) the talon, ogee or reversed cyma, (3) the cyma, cyma-recta, or cymatium, (4) the torus, (5) the scotia or trochilos, (6) the cavetto, mouth or hollow, and (8) the fillet, listel or annulet.

These are the eight basic mouldings[19] of which the various component parts of the column proper is composed in the Greco-Roman orders. The pedestal part of the Indian column is generally excluded from the Greco-Roman orders, but the capital part is included in both the systems. The entablature (*prastara*) comprises the parts of an order above the column proper. The assemblage is divided into three parts, namely, the architrave which rests immediately on the column, the frieze next over the architrave being the middle member, and the cornice which is the uppermost part. In the *Mānasāra* (Chap. XVI, 17—20) *prastara* is otherwise named as *kapota*, *mañcha*, *prachchhādana*, *gopāna*, *vitāna*, *valabhī*, *matta-vāraṇa*, *vidhāna* and *lupā*. These nine synonyms of the entablature indicate the nine types of which details and measures are specified, each of the synonyms emphasizing the special pattern implied by its name. For instance, the *kapota* type whose other synonyms (Chap. XVI, 49-50) are *vaktra-hasta* (face supported by a hand), *lupā* (slanting shape), *gopānaka* (the vessel out of which cows drink) and *chandra* (moon), shows the pigeon-pattern as the leading feature of the entablature. These nine types of entablature are composed of mouldings varying from

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[18] Compare details quoted from Gwilt's *Encyclopedia* in the writer's *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, pp. 682—698.

[19] For illustration of Profiles of Mouldings from *Mānasāra*, see Plate I.

fourteen to nineteen.[20] For instance the second type consists of the following (Chap. XVI, 59—71):—*uttara, kampa, valabhī, abja, vājana, mushṭi-bandha, vājana, ādhāra, paṭṭa, vājana, mushṭi-bandha, vājana, mahā-vājana* and *abja*.[21]

The entablature, it should be noted, is the continuation of the column proper to the roof of the house of which the column is the support and regulator. As such the entablature, like the base and the pedestal, bears a proportion in height to the column. In the five Greco-Roman orders[22] the entablature is fourth part of the column. In general terms, its subdivisions of architrave, frieze, and cornice are obtained by dividing its height into ten equal parts, whereof three are given to architrave, three to frieze, and four to cornice. In the Indian orders of *Mānasāra's* prescription (Chap. XVI) there are greater varieties of proportion, being one-fourth to three-fourths, even equal to or greater by $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$. The column being divided into eight parts, the entablature may be given two, three, four, five, six or seven parts.[23]

The entablature bears a proportion to the base of the column also. The height of the former may be equal to that of the latter, or less by $\frac{1}{4}$, or greater by $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{3}{4}$ or it may be twice in height. Similarly, the height of the pedestal may be from one-quarter to six times of the height of the base.[24]

"From these general proportions variation have been made by different masters." The extant monuments

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[20] *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture,* pp. 378—382. For illustration of entablature see Plate II, bottom figure.

[21] For translation, measurement, etc. *vide, ibid.*, pp. 378-79.

[22] In the Tuscan order $\frac{1}{4}$ of 7, in Doric order $\frac{1}{4}$ of 8, in Ionic order $\frac{1}{4}$ of 9, in Corinthian order $\frac{1}{4}$ of 10, and in Composite order $\frac{1}{4}$ of 11 (Gwilt, art, 25-42, 25-49).

[23] *Indian Architecture,* p. 43.

[24] Writer's *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture* (1927), p. 702, 703, 704.

bear witness both to these rules as well as to their variations. But as in the formation of the human body, the head, middle body, leg, and foot bearing a general proportion to each other, the component members of the column do bear for aesthetic reason a certain proportion, despite the varieties owing to various races and types. In the absence of any proportion between the members their combination becomes meaningless and deformity is inevitable.

For aesthetic and other obvious reasons there are fixed proportions regarding the height of the column proper with its girth. In fact "the difference in the Indian orders consists chiefly in the proportion between the thickness and the height of the pillars, while that of the Grecian and the Roman orders, not only on the dimensions of columns, but also on the form of the other parts belonging to them. The orders of India[25] and of Greece and Rome are remarkable for beautiful effect of their proportions, a circumstance to which little regard has been paid by the Egyptians.[25] The plan of the Grecian columns is always round; but the plan of the Hindu columns admits of every shape and is frequently found in the quadrangular and octangular forms also.[25] The capitals of the Grecian columns invariably mark the distinction of the several orders; those of the Indian are varied at pleasure, though not without regard to the diameter and the length of the shaft.

Between the European and the Indian columns there is a striking difference in regard to the very origin of their names. Doric is derived from the species of columns first seen in the cities of Doria (Vitruvius, IV. 1). The

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[25] See Plate III and *vide* illustrations in the writer's *Architecture of Mānasāra*, Vol. V, plates, XLIV—XLIX; XXVII—XXX; XXXI—XLIII; L, where all the pedestals, bases, entablatures and twenty-five pillars drawn with measures, plans, and sections, etc., are shown.

species of which the Ionians were the inventors has received the appellation of Ionic. Callimachus constructed columns after the model of the tomb in the country about Corinth, hence this species is called Corinthian. The Tuscan order has reference to the country of Tuscany, formerly called Etruria in Italy. The Composite order is a compound of the Corinthian and the Ionic.

The names of the five orders in India which are not associated with any locality or tribe appear to be more significant. The *Mānasāra* contains two sets of names of the five orders, one set referring like the *Āgamas*, the *Purāṇas*, and the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā*, to the shapes of the columns or more precisely the shafts, while the other refers mostly to the shape of the capitals which the Greco-Roman orders have ultimately stuck to. In the *Mānasāra* (Chap. XV) the square pillar is called Brahma-kānta,[26] the octagonal Vishṇu-kānta, the sixteen-sided or circular one Rudra-kānta, the pentagonal Śiva-kānta, and the hexagonal Skanda-kānta. With respect to dimensions and ornaments of the capital they are called *Chitra-karṇa* (of ornamented ear), *Padma-kānta* (of lotus pattern and grace), *Chitra-skambha* (of ornamented shaft), *Pālikā-stambha* (of basket pattern), and *Kumbha-stambha* (of jug pattern).

In the *Matsya-purāṇa*, the *Bṛihat-saṁhitā*, and the *Kiraṇa-tantra* the five orders are called *Ruchaka* (graceful), *Vajra* (of club pattern), *Dvi-vajra* (of double club shape), *Pralīnaka* (reabsorbed, ? turned-up shape) and *Vṛitta* (round). In the *Suprabhedāgama* the names of the five orders are *Śrī-kara* (of pyramid and beautifying pattern), *Chandra-kānta* (of the moon shape and grace-

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[26] *Brahma* (four-faced deity)-*kāṇḍa* (stalk, *i.e.*, shaft) would be a better reading, but as the terms like *Chandra-kānta* (of moon's grace) frequently occur no amendment to the original term has been made in our text.

ful pattern), *Saumukhya* (of beautiful face pattern), *Priya-darśana* (of lovable look of a handsome person), and *Śubhaṅkarī* (of auspicious look of a benign goddess). The last one is stated to be the Indian composite order, being a compound (*miśrita*) of *Saumukhya* and *Priya-darśana*.[27]

[27] For further details see the writer's *Indian Architecture in India and Abroad*, pp. 54-55, 109—111.

WAS KING NAVA OF COINS A NĀGA RULER?

BY

DR. A. S. ALTEKAR,

Benares Hindu University.

In his very interesting and stimulating work, *History of India*, 150—350 A.D., the late Dr. Jayaswal has advanced the theory that it was the Bhāraśiva rulers who ousted the Kushānas from the Gangetic plain and paved the way for the Vākāṭaka and Gupta empires. We cannot discuss this theory in all its aspects in the present paper. Dr. Jayaswal maintains that the founder of this great Bhāraśiva dynasty was king Navanāga and he identifies this ruler with the potentate who has issued copper coins with the legend Navasa on them. Some of these coins are dated, the date being 34. Dr. Jayaswal further maintains that this Nava is the same as Navanāga referred to in the Purāṇas and that he was the founder of the Nāga dynasties, which were later ruling at Mathurā, Padmāvatī and Kāntipurī. We do not propose to examine whether Nava founded these branches; we shall see whether he was a Nāga ruler at all.

The Purāṇas, while describing the Nāga families ruling on the eve of the rise of the Gupta empire state:—

Nava Nāgāstu bhokshyanti purīm Padmāvatīṁ nṛipāḥ.

Mathurāṁ cha purīṁ ramyāṁ Nāgā bhokshyanti sapta vai.

The mention of the seven Nāga rulers of Mathurā in the second half of the above verse makes it almost certain that its first half refers to *nine* (*nava*) Nāga rulers of Padmāvatī and not to *new* (*nava*) Nāga rulers of that

city. We may however assume for the sake of argument that the expression *Nava Nāgāḥ* refers to new Nāga rulers of Padmāvatī founded by king Nava-nāga and proceed to examine whether the coins concerned can be attributed to him.

It may be observed at the outset that the legend of the coins under discussion does not read as *devasa* as taken by Smith; Dr. Jayaswal's reading *Navasa* seems to be the correct one and has been accepted by Mr. Allan also, though we cannot deny that on some coins the first letter appears to be *ne* and not *na*. The medial *e* stroke may be due to the carelessness of the engraver and we may accept the reading *Navasa* as the correct one.

Let us now describe the coins of Nava. On the reverse, there is the Bull, which appears almost invariably on Kauśāmbī coins. On the obverse, in the upper half, there is Tree within railing in the centre with a symbol on either side. On the coin illustrated in the *I.M.C.*, Pl. XXIII, 15, the symbol to left no doubt appears like the one for 20 and that on right as the one for 7, and both Drs. Smith and Jayaswal naturally take them to stand for the number 27. But in the case of a large number of coins illustrated in the B.M. catalogue of Coins of Ancient India, Pl. XXI, 4—8, as well as those examined by me in the valuable collections of Babu Srinath Shah of Benares and Rai Bahadur B. M. Vyas of Allahabad, one of these symbols appears to be a spear and the other is indistinct and is taken as a *chouri* by Allan (*Catalogue*, p. 154). It would therefore be hazardous to conclude from the solitary specimen in the Indian Museum that the coins of Nava are dated in his regnal years. It is however immaterial for our present purpose to decide as to whether these coins are dated; we have to find out whether king Nava or Neva, who issued these coins, is identical with Dr. Jayaswal's Nava-nāga, the founder of the Nāga dynasty.

It must be confessed that the various arguments adduced by Dr. Jayaswal to support his view do not carry any conviction. Dr. Jayaswal ascribes this type to king Nava-nāga because there is the figure of a Nāga or serpent with raised hood above the legend (p. 18). It is interesting to point out that Dr. Jayaswal takes the symbol to right once for numeral 7, when he wants to argue that the coins bear the date of issue 27, and then again for the hood of a serpent when he wants to prove that king Nava, who issued them was a Nāga ruler (see p. 19, n. 1 and p. 18 2nd para). The symbol in question cannot obviously stand both for the numeral 7 and for the hood of a snake. As observed already, I have examined a large number of these coins and have found that the symbol in question is too indistinct to be interpreted with confidence. It is only on the solitary specimen published in the *I.M.C.*, that it appears as the hood of a serpent.

But even if we assume that the serpent's hood appears on all the coins of king Nava, its occurrence will not prove that he was a Nāga. On none of the coins issued by the Nāga rulers of Padmāvatī, the serpent or its hood makes its appearance. On the other hand, a symbol which looks like a serpent or its hood makes its appearance on the coins of Dhanadeva of Ayodhyā, Bṛihaspatimitra II of Kauśāmbī, and the rulers of the Western Kshatrapa dynasty and the Yaudheya tribe, none of whom belonged to a Nāga family, even according to Dr. Jayaswal.

It must be further remembered that according to Dr. Jayaswal Nava-nāga was the founder of a new Nāga house, which emerged into prominence by ousting the Kushānas from Eastern U.P. Nava-nāga therefore would have taken effective and unmistakable measures to proclaim his Nāga origin, so far unknown to the population; he would not have left it to be inferred by serpent's hood on his coins but would have clearly proclaimed it by adding

the unmistakable suffix *nāga* to his name, as has been done by the Nāga rulers of Padmāvatī.

The next argument advanced by Dr. Jayaswal to ascribe these coins to a Nāga dynasty is their close affinity to the coinage of the Nāga dynasties of Mathurā, Vidiśā and Padmāvatī (p. 19). We have shown elsewhere,[1] how the so-called Mathurā-Vidiśā series of Dr. Jayaswal was not issued by any Nāga ruler at all. But even supposing that the 'Datta' coins are the issues of Nāga rulers, it has to be pointed out that *they bear no resemblance whatsoever to the coins of king Nava*. On the 'Datta' series of coins of Mathurā, the legend is either circular or in a straight line at the top; on the coins of king Nava, it is always at the bottom. On the 'Datta' coins, we have usually standing Lakshmī on the obverse and three elephants on the reverse; on none of the coins of Nava does either of these objects make its appearance. They have on the other hand Tree within railing on one side and Bull on the other, which do not figure on 'Datta' coins at all. The average weight of the coins of Nava is about 65 grains, that of the coins of the 'Datta' series is about 110 grains. There is therefore no affinity at all between 'Datta' coins of Jayaswal's so-called Mathurā-Vidiśā series and the coins of Nava.

Let us now see whether any affinity exists between the coins of king Nava and the rulers of Padmāvatī, who undoubtedly belonged to a Nāga family. The only point of similarity is the occasional appearance of the bull on the reverse of the coins of the Nāga rulers of Padmāvatī. Bull however is an invariable element of the coins of Nava, whereas it is often replaced by Peacock, *Chakra* or *Triśūla* on the Nāga coins of Padmāvatī. The Tree within railing which is an invariable element on the coins of king Nava

[1] In a paper shortly appearing in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.*

is conspicuous by its absence on the Padmāvatī Nāga coins, and Peacock, *Chakra* and *Triśūla* which often figure on the latter are never to be seen on the coins of Nava. The legend on the coins of Nava is always at the bottom and in a straight line, that on the coins of the rulers of Padmāvatī is always circular, and covering the entire surface of the coin. The Padmāvatī rulers prefix the title Mahārāja to their names; Nava never takes up this or any other royal title. The suffix Nāga, which invariably occurs on the coins of Padmāvatī rulers is always absent on the coins of Nava. The Padmāvatī coins are usually tiny in size and weight. They were apparently issued in three denominations weighing 9, 18 and 36 grains; only Skandanāga has issued a few coins weighing about 50 grains. The coins of Nava on the other hand are never so tiny; they usually weigh about 65 grains. There is therefore no affinity at all between the coins of the Nāga rulers of Padmāvatī and those of king Nava in order to justify the latter's attribution to a Nāga family.

The Purāṇas place their Nava Nāgas at Padmāvatī and their statement can be well accepted, for we have found the coins of nine[2] Nāga rulers at that place. If we agree with Jayaswal and hold that Nava-nāga was the founder of this house, we should find some of his coins at that place. Padmāvatī has yielded a large number of Nāga coins, but not a single coin of Nava has been found there. This would be indeed strange if king Nava was a Nāga ruler and the real founder of the Padmāvatī dynasty.

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[2] The names of seven of these rulers are definitely known—Bhīmanāga, Skandanāga, Bṛihaspatināga, Gaṇapatināga, Vyāghranāga, Vasunāga and Devanāga. There were two more rulers, the first letters of whose coin legends can be read as *kha* and *va*. Their full names cannot be made out.

The coins of Nava have been found only in the Eastern U.P., and mostly at Kauśāmbī. The Tree within railing on the obverse and the Bull on the reverse of the coins of this ruler also show that he hailed from Kauśāmbī, for both these symbols occur on most of the coins issued from that city. King Nava was therefore most probably a Kauśāmbī ruler who came after the Magha kings in *c.* 275 A.D., and had no connection with the Nāga family of Padmāvatī. Nor was he himself of Nāga extraction. He does not care to add to his name the epithet Nāga, which most Nāga rulers attached to their names. There is no Nāga symbol on his coins. Kauśāmbī, which was his capital, is not mentioned by the Purāṇas as the seat of any Nāga family of rulers, though they mention Mathurā, Padmāvatī, Kāntipurī and Champā as the seats of Nāga families. His coins are not found at Mathurā and Padmāvatī and there is no evidence at all to show that he was the founder of Nāga families ruling at these places. If the Bhāraśiva dynasty was at all a Nāga one, there is no evidence to show that king Nava was its founder.[3]

[3] Recently during my examination of the clay seals from Rajghat I found a clay sealing of king Navva (*Rajño Navvasya*) which shows a bow and arrow above the name of the king and a spear on l. and a Yūpa in railing on r. of name.—V. S. Agrawala.

CERAMĀN PERUMĀḶ—A NEW STUDY

BY

K. V. KRISHNA AYYAR, M.A.,

Zamorin's College, Calicut, S. I.

Cēramān Perumāḷ is one of the unsolved puzzles of Kēraḷa history. No other king figures so largely in local tradition and folklore. The kings and chiefs, whom Vasco da Gama found ruling in the land when he came to Calicut in A.D. 1498, and whose descendants still occupy an honoured place in society, trace their origin to his Bhūvibhāga or Partition of the Empire. To him is attributed the *Kūrmatsaram* or the Great Schism, which divided Kēraḷa into two hostile camps, and gave the Portuguese, the Dutch and the Muhammadan rulers of Mysore their opportunity. The peculiar customs of the Nāyars—their wonderful military training, which made war a sport and death a playmate, their custom of matrilineal inheritance, and the privilege of free love which their women still enjoy—are said to have been instituted by him. The Christians claim him as one of their early converts, the Muhammadans as their very first convert, on Indian soil. At the same time the Hindus look upon him as one of their saints. Still an impenetrable mystery seems to surround his life and work.

Sources

This is mainly due to the fact that the Malayāḷam and Tamil scholars have been confining themselves each to their own sources. No attempt has been made till now to combine and collate them. They have been standing back to back, so to speak, and working with their eyes glued to their own particular field.

Though no dated records of this king have yet been discovered, we have plenty of traditions, the next best source for history. The Malayāḷam traditions are of three kinds: Hindu, Christian and Muhammadan. The accounts, official and non-official, of the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English, obtained from local informants, in some cases on oath, fall under one or the other of these categories. Of the Malayāḷam sources, the most important collection is the *Kēralōtpatti*, which has been printed by the Basel Mission Press, Mangalore. Written in indifferent prose, though attributed to Tunjan, one of the greatest of Malayāḷam poets, it is not older than the sixteenth century. None the less, it alone has something to tell us about the events of Perumāḷ's reign from beginning to end. The *Kitābs* of the Muhammadans and the accounts of the Europeans are concerned only with the closing events of the reign, the abdication of Cēramān, his partition of the kingdom and his grand pilgrimage.

Of Tamil sources, Śēkkiḷār's *Periyapurāṇam* is the most important. Śēkkiḷār was the minister of the Cōḷa king, Kulōttunga I (A.D.1070-1120). He was also a great Śaiva devotee, and in his work he gives an account of the Sixty-Three Śaiva saints, including Cēramān, worshipped in every Śiva temple in Tamilnāḍ. In the chapter on *Cēramān Perumāḷ Nayanār*, hereinafter referred to as C, he describes the life of Cēramān down to and including his pilgrimage in the company of Sundaramūrti, one of the most famous of the Sixty-Three, and in the chapter entitled *Vaḷḷānaccarukkam*, hereinafter referred to as V, he describes the miraculous ascent of the saints to Kailās, of Sundara on a white elephant, of Cēramān on horseback.

The Malayāḷam and Tamil sources do not corroborate but supplement each other. The former are what we may call proto-history, the first attempt of a people to write

their history. Hence there is much that is puerile, wild, obscure and inconsistent; but there is very little that is miraculous. With a little patience we can remove the legendary incrustation and recover the nucleus of historical fact underlying it. Śēkkiḷār's motive was not historical but religious from first to last. He was writing with an eye primarily for the miraculous and the marvellous. Nevertheless, he can hardly help yielding some information of the greatest value.

Recent researches in Pāṇḍyan history clear up many points in the *Keralōtpatti*, which had hitherto baffled the historian. They enable us even to fix the dates of some of the events of Cēramān's reign.

Malayāḷam Cēramān identical with Tamil Cēramān.

The difficulty of reconciling the various stories has led many writers in Malabar to suppose that they relate to different kings. But all the Malayāḷam sources—Hindu, Christian and Muhammadan—agree in saying that their Cēramān Perumāḷ was the last Emperor of Kēraḷa, and after him it broke up into a number of small but independent principalities. So these traditions must be regarded as referring to one and the same person. And as the date of the king of the Malayāḷam traditions happens to coincide with that of Śēkkiḷār's saint-king, we cannot entertain any doubt about their identity.

The Date of Cēramān Perumāḷ.

The *Kēralōtpatti* says (pp. 76 and 47) that Cēramān came to the throne in A.D. 355 and abdicated in A.D. 428. At the same time it makes him a contemporary of the great Śaṅkarācārya (pp. 55 ff.). And as the commonly accepted date for Śaṅkara is A.D. 788—820, we have to decide which of the two is the more probable, the earlier or the later.

In the *Tohfut-ul-Mujahideen* (p. 55), Sheikh Zeinuddin, the historian of the epic conflict between the Zamorin and the Portuguese, says that Perumāḷ must have left the kingdom on his pilgrimage some two hundred years after the flight of the prophet from Mecca to Medina, that is, sometime about A.D. 816.

The Joint Commissioners, who came to settle Malabar in A.D. 1792, tell us in their *Report* (p. 2) that according to the people of the country it was then about one thousand years after the great invasion from the east was beaten off by Cēramān. So this invasion must have taken place about A.D. 792, a date which receives some corroboration from Pāṇḍyan history.

After an exhaustive study of all the Portuguese records, official and non-official, Barros comes to the conclusion (*Decadas I*) that Cēramān was reigning 672 (?) years before the Portuguese landed in India, and that he was so great that in his honour an era was founded after his death. We do not know how Barros arrived at the exact figure of 672. But the latter part of his statement is borne out by the practice of Malabar astrologers.

In their annual ephemeris they continue to note, among various eras, one called the *Cēramān Perumāl Era*. Its initial year is A.D. 826-827, the years being reckoned from the fifteenth asterism of *Svāti* in the Tamil month of *Āḍi* (July-August), sacred as the day of his ascension to heaven.

We may therefore fix A.D. 826 as the date of his death. As the Perumāḷ is believed to have celebrated his *Śatābhiṣēkam* before his death, we must assign his birth to A.D. 726, if we regard this rite as performed on the completion of his hundredth year; or to A.D. 742, if according to the present practice it was performed on the completion of 1000 full moons. As it is very rare for a man to live to celebrate his hundredth birthday we may for the present

assign his birth to the later date, that is, A.D. 742.

As regards the date of his *accession to the throne*, Śaṅkara is said to have been born some years after the repulse of the Pāṇḍyan invasion from the east. And, as has been already mentioned, Śaṅkara's birth is assigned to A.D. 788. In the *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom* (pp. 61ff.), Prof. Nilakanta Sastri of the Madras University, says that Varaguṇa Maharajah (c. A.D. 765-815) invaded Kēraḷa sometime before the 17th year of his reign, that is, about A.D. 782. There is no doubt that this is the invasion described by the *Kēralōtpatti* and referred to in the *Joint Commissioners' Report*. As its precise date is not given in Varaguṇa's inscription we may tentatively fix it as A.D. 780.

From the *Kēralōtpatti* (p. 50) we understand that Cēramān had been king for more than 36 years according to one version, for more than only 12 according to another. Thus we get sometime before A.D. 744 and 768 as the two possible dates for his accession. The former is too early, if we regard Cēramān as born in A.D. 742. Further, it will be shown that Cēramān's accession to the throne was closely connected with an earlier Pāṇḍyan invasion, that of Rājasiṁha (*c*. A.D. 740-765), Varaguṇa's father. As this is believed to have taken place towards the end of his reign, Cēramān must have come to the throne sometime about A.D. 765.

The date of Śēkkiḷār's hero is determined by that of Sundaramūrti, who was Cēramān's friend and preceptor. In the *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom* already referred to (p. 67 n. and 41), Sundara is placed within a century of Jñānasambandhaṟ, who is regarded as the contemporary of Arikēsarī Parāṅkuśa (A.D. 670-710). This gives us A.D. 770-810 as the probable date of Sundara. Further, according to Śēkkiḷār (c. 26-33), Cēramān went

so far as to offer his kingdom to Bāṇabhadra, the famous musician of Madura. And Bāṇabhadra was a protégé of Varaguṇa.

These dates establish the identity of the king of the Kēralōtpatti with the king of the *Periyapurāṇam*. We have even allusions in the Malayāḷam sources to what Śēkkiḷār must have looked upon as the most edifying event in the Perumāḷ's life—his ascent to heaven in his own mortal body. In the *Tohfut-ul-Mujahideen* (p. 56), the venerable Sheikh says that the Hindus believe that the king was (bodily) taken up into heaven, and celebrate the event by worshipping his sandals and burning lights on a certain day every year. And the *Kēralōtpatti's* chronogram itself for Cēramān's death, *Swargam-sa-dēham-prāpyam*, means "Heaven can be attained with one's own body".

Cēramān's Parentage.

According to the Malayāḷam sources Cēramān was a foreigner. It is the commonly accepted belief among the people, thanks to the Nampūtirīs, the Brahmins *par excellence* of Kēraḷa, that Paraśurāma reclaimed the country from the ocean, and made a gift of it to the Nampūtirīs, whom he brought from Ahicchatra and settled in 64 villages. Of these 32 villages were in Kanara or Tulunāḍ, and 32 in the Malayāḷam-speaking tracts. In course of time quarrels broke out amongst the 32 settlements of the southern Malayāḷam country. And on the advice of Paraśurāma they adopted the practice of bringing a ruler from the adjoining kingdoms once in 12 years. These twelve-yearly rulers were called *Perumāḷs*, each one of whom had to go back to the country of his origin at the end of the stipulated period. The first *Perumāḷ* thus brought was Keya Perumāḷ from Keyapuram. In this way as many as 23 or 24 Perumāḷs are said to have ruled Kēraḷa. At last, when Kulasēkhara died, the Nampūtirīs

resolved not to go in for these princes, and chose to govern the country themselves. But, this proving unsatisfactory, they reverted to their old practice. Accordingly, says the *Kēralōtpatti* (p. 46), they waited upon Krishṇa Rāya of Anagunḍi and requested him to send them a Perumāḷ once in 12 years. First he sent Ādi Rajah, then Pāndy Perumāḷ, and after him Cēramān Perumāḷ. Another version of the *Kēralōtpatti* (p. 50), simply says that the Nampūtirīs brought Cēramān Perumāḷ from Cōḷamaṇḍalam.

No one now seriously believes in the story of Paraśurāma's reclamation or in the theory of Nampūtirī sovereignty over Kēraḷa. These Aryan immigrants settled in Kēraḷa in independent village republics. Surrounded on all sides by the warlike Nāyars, they transformed, for greater safety as well as for greater prestige, their village republics into temple republics, securing themselves against the possible hostility of their neighbours behind the sanctity of the temple deity. The village and its circumjacent territory became the deity's, the village *Saṁketam* became the temple *Saṁketam*, the village assembly functioning as the trustee and managing body, doing everything in the name of the deity. The Nampūtirīs understood by Keraḷa only their village and temple *Saṁketams*. They ignored everything that did not find a place within these limits.

In course of time they began to quarrel amongst themselves. And Peruvavanam, which controlled an area of three to four hundred square miles with no less than 108 temples and temple-states within it, sought to lay its hand upon Tirunavayi and celebrate the twelve-yearly *Mahāmāgha* festival under its own auspices, as befitting its imperial dignity. But Tirunavayi and the *Mahāmāgha* festival were the common concern of all the Nampūtirīs. And the Tirunavayi *Yōgam* or assembly

sought the protection of the Cēra Emperor of Crāṅganōre (known also as Tiruvanjaikkuḷam, Vanji, Koduṅgallūr, Kotumkōḷūr and Mouziris). On his agreeing to become their *Rakṣāpuruṣa* or Protector, he was installed as Perumāḷ. As the *Mahāmāgha* festival lasted for one full month, he was brought and invested with the dignity the previous year itself, when Jupiter moved into the sign of the *Crab*, to enable the authorities concerned to make the elaborate arrangements which the festival necessarily entailed. In course of time, the *Perumāḷ Ararōdham*, as the ceremony of installation was called, became a regular and indispensable rite. But this did not confer any permanent, much less sovereign, rights on the Perumāḷ. The Nampūtirīs regarded themselves free to choose whom they liked; for among the Perumāḷs we find not only Cēras but Cōḷas and Pāṇḍyas as well. So when the *Kēralōtpatti* says that the Nampūtirīs brought Cēramān and invested him as Perumāḷ, we need take it only as meaning that they conferred upon him certain rights over the temple and festival of Tirunavayi. It is true that the *Kēralōtpatti* describes the Nampūtirīs as giving Kēraḷa to Cēramān as a poured-out gift with water and flowers, renouncing all their rights; but immediately afterwards, it says that at the expiry of the stipulated twelve years they invested him again as Perumaḷ for another twelve years.

But the story is not completely devoid of historical value. Even shorn of all the Nampūtirī embellishments, it throws some light on his parentage. But we have two versions, and our next task is to examine whether either of them contains any truth.

History knows only one Krishna Rāya; he is the famous Krishna Rāya of Vijayanagar, who was reigning from A.D. 1509-1527. It is obvious that he could not

have sent Cēramān to Kēraḷa in the eighth century.

The other version, that he came from Cōḷamaṇḍalam, receives some support from the *Kēralōtpatti* itself (p.50). It says that the Pāṇḍyan invaded Kēraḷa because he thought that *if Cēramān continued to rule Kēraḷa the country would pass to the Cōḷa.*

This might at first seem inconsistent with Śēkkiḷār's evidence. The minister-poet not only says that he was born at Kotumkōḷūr (C,5) but calls him Utiyaṛ, Utiyaṛ Perumān (C,96,145,156) and Imayavaṛ (V,3), thereby implying that he was directly descended from Utiyaṛ Cērāḷ and Imyavaramban Cēraḷātan, the former being the earliest of the Cērās known to us, the latter one of his most distinguished descendants.

At the same time, Śēkkiḷār tells us, or rather makes the ministers of Śeṅgōṛpoṛaiyan, the king who had just abdicated, tell Cēramān (C, 12) that it had come to him to wield the sceptre according to the Malabar law of succession, that is, the matrilineal system of inheritance. Hence Cēramān must be related to his predecessor through his mother, not through his father. The *Periyapurāṇam*, therefore, does not contradict the *Kēralōtpatti;* on the other hand, it lends its support to it. For if he should succeed Śeṅgōṛpoṛaiyan acctring to the Malabar law, he could not have had a Cēra for his father. In calling him Utiyaṛ and Imayavar, Śēkkiḷār was only following the example of his own master, Kulōttunga, who, though born of a Cālukya father, discarded his Cālukya title and called himself a Cōḷa, when he came to his maternal grandfather Rājendra I Cōḷa's throne. As Cēramān's mother was a Cēra princess there is nothing improbable also in Cēramān's birth taking place in the Cēra palace.

Cēramān had also a sister. According to Malabar tradition, she married the Perudpaṭappu Nampūtirī, in

accordance with the Malabar mode of marriage called *Sambandham*, the offsprings of such unions taking the property and caste of the mother. As the Nampūtiri was the last of his family, he was permitted by the king to pass on his family name and property to his children. Thus came into existence the present ruling house of Cochin, which is even now known in Kēraḷa as the Perumpaṭappu dynasty. According to the Tamil sources, when Cēramān died, his sister gave up her life, as did many a follower and kinsman of the king, to follow her brother to Kailās.

Cēramān's Early Life.

Cēramān grew up in his uncle's court. His father himself perhaps preferred to stay with his brother-in-law. It need not cause us any surprise. The Cōḷas of this period had nothing of the greatness of their first century predecessors or the tenth century successors. The Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas now held the stage in South Indian history. Perhaps it is not a mere accident that even the Cōḷa contemporary of Cēramān was found living with his father-in-law, Varaguṇa, when the Malabar king arrived at Madura in the course of his pilgrimage. The Cōḷa father of Cēramān, after all, might not have been even in the direct line of succession; and he might have come to Kēraḷa to make his fortune.

Śēkkiḷār tells us (C, 8-9) that from the beginning Cēramān seemed to have realised the futility of earthly pleasure and kingly power, and very early in his life removed himself to the temple of Tiruvanjaikkuḷam, not far from the palace of Tiruvanjaikkuḷam, spending his time in serving the Lord by singing hymns, tending the temple gardens, plucking flowers, making garlands for the deity, and cleaning the temple premises.

This devotion of Cēramān, however, did not stand

in the way of conjugal love and happiness. His patron deity himself is considered an ideal husband and householder by us. According to the Malayāḷam tradition, Cēramān married a lady of the house of Neḍiyiruppu, the members of which were the sword-bearers of the Cēra king. Perhaps she was as devout as Cēramān, and he was attracted by her piety. He took her to wife according to the local custom of *Sambandham*, and had a son named Mānavikraman, who became the first Zamorin after his death.

Cēramān's Accession to the Throne.

The question now arises how did this son of a Cōḷa prince come to ascend the Cēra throne? There will be no difficulty if succession in the Cēra house had been through the female. Among the *Samgham* Cēras, however, succession was traced through the male. And a constructive interpretation of Śēkkiḷār's words tends to show that no change had been made in the rule of succession till Cēramān.

The *Kēralōtpatti*, as we have seen, solves the problem by saying that he was brought by the Nampūtirīs. But we have already shown that the *Kēralōtpatti* does not take us far in this matter. We have therefore to examine Śēkkiḷār for any clue he might offer.

Growing tired of the pleasures of this world, says he (C, 10—15), Śeṅgōṛpoṛaiyan left the kingdom for the forest to lead an ascetic life. The departure of the king upset the ministers, who became greatly agitated in their minds. But after some days their minds became clear (as to what they should do in this emergency). They went to the prince worshipping in the temple of the Moon-Crested Lord at Tiruvanjaikkuḷam. They told him that by the custom of Malanāḍ the responsibility of wielding the sceptre had come to him, and entreated him to protect

them by condescending to wear the crown. The Lord giving His sanction, Cēramān accepted the offer.

We have now to find out why Śeṅgorporaiyan left the kingdom without providing for the succession. It might be said in reply that there was the obvious heir in Cēramān, whom his ministers had only to crown forthwith. The practice in ancient India, however, had been for the outgoing king to install his successor on the throne before his departure. It was a duty which he owed to his subjects. If he had abdicated of his own free will and as a crowning act of renunciation, he had ample time to nominate his successor and even to enthrone him. His omission even to indicate his successor shows that he left the kingdom rather suddenly and not of his own free will.

There is no evidence of any internal upheaval; all the evidence we have is against it. The ministers did not rejoice over his abdication; on the other hand, they were greatly perturbed by it. Unless we presume some malady suddenly incapacitating the king for any kind of administrative work, external invasion alone would satisfactorily account for his failure to name his successor, if not to place him on his throne.

Epigraphy seems to hint at an external invasion—and a successful invasion too. Rējasiṁha Pāṇḍya (*c.* A.D. 740—765), we are told in the *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom* (p. 59 and footnote), repaired the ramparts of Vanji towards the end of his reign. Rājasiṁha was not an Aśoka to undertake philanthropic missions beyond his dominions. His action would be intelligible only if he had conquered Vanji and intended to occupy it, that is, he had defeated the reigning king, and drove him out of the kingdom or reduced him to subjection. This reigning king could not have been Cēramān; for, from the Malayāḷam sources, read in the light of Pāṇḍyan history,

we have come to the conclusion that Cēramān was only just beginning his reign about A.D. 765. The reigning king of Kēraḷa at the time of Rājasiṁha's invasion could have been therefore no other than Śeṅgōṟpoṟaiyan. His defeat and precipitate flight would explain his omission to provide for the succession.

Again, one has to infer from Śēkkiḻār that Cēramān was not the obvious heir. If he was the undoubted heir of Śeṅgōṟpoṟaiyan, why should the ministers be upset by the latter's departure? It may be said that their perturbation was due to the religious preoccupation of Cēramān and his manifest unwillingness to soil his hands with things of this world. But we must not overlook the fact that the minds of the ministers had become clear, that is, all their difficulties had disappeared even before they went to the princely devotee and made their offer. So Cēramān could not have been their trouble.

It must be sought in the fact that in asking Cēramān to be their king they were doing something unusual. The ministers' reference to the Malabar custom of inheritance when offering the crown to Cēramān, as we have already remarked, makes it clear that Cēramān was not Śeṅgōṟpoṟaiyan's son. If succession in the Cēra family had been through the female, there was no necessity for the ministers to refer to it. The common and the well-known need no special mention. Further, if matrilineal succession had been the rule among the Cēras, Cēramān was the nearest heir, whom it would be their duty to place on the throne immediately it fell vacant. Why were there so much delay and discussion? There is only one answer. They were going out of their way. There were candidates who had better claims. Perhaps Śeṅgōṟpoṟaiyan had a son. If not, there were his collateral kinsmen. Let alone the Koṅgu Cēras; there were the ancestors of Bhāskara Ravivarman, who made himself master of

Vanji and strove to revive the ancient Cēra empire some two centuries later.

Cēramān's appeal to his patron deity for light and guidance, again, might not have been solely due to his reluctance to leave the congenial atmosphere of the temple. He might not have been satisfied with the rule of succession cited by the ministers. Perhaps without his Lord's approval Cēramān would not have made bold to accept what did not lawfully belong to him.

The question now arises why did the choice of the ministers fall upon Cēramān—of whose willingness to shoulder the burden of state they were not sure when they came to their decision—in preference to others who had a better claim? Perhaps they did not consider them fit. Or Cēramān had endeared himself so much to them. Or perhaps there was pressure from outside.

It might be that Rājasiṁha 'recommended' him to them. He might have on further consideration given up the idea of annexing Kēraḷa and ruling it directly. The annexation of one of the 'three kingdoms' of the south by any of the other two had never been permanent. With the Pallava menace in the north, he might have thought it enough for him that there was no trouble from this quarter.

All things considered, Cēramān would eminently suit his purpose. He was not a Cēra, and he could not ordinarily be expected to lead a Cēra attack on his dominions. He was a saint, and he would not be aggressive. And owing the throne to him he might remain a loyal ally. Rājasiṁha's interference would also account for the delay. A strong party among the ministers might have at first resisted this dictation from outside. And in the conflict of motives, interests, and circumstances, it is no wonder that the ministers were not able immediately to see their way clear

We may conclude this long discussion by saying that about A.D. 765 Rājasiṁha Pāṇḍya invaded Kēraḷa. Unable to defend it, Śeṅgōrpoṟaiyan left the kingdom and retired to the forest. Thereupon the ministers, at the instance of Rājasiṁha, crowned Cēramān as king.

Internal Events.

According to the *Kēralōtpatti* (pp. 47 ff.), Cēramān conducted an elaborate survey of all the eighteen ports of his kingdom, and entirely reconstructed, if not actually built for the first time, the harbour of Tiruvanjikkuḷam. Further, he encouraged the Arab Muhammadans to settle in his dominions.

There is nothing improbable in these. Both the Malayāḷam and Tamil sources say that Cēramān was a very wise ruler, the latter even go to the length of asserting that he was a *Kaḷaṟiṟṟarivar*, that is, one who knew the language of every living being, including bird and beast. He must have seen how the prosperity of his kingdom depended upon its sea-borne trade. And the discovery of a Muhammadan tomb, not far off from Calicut, bearing A.H. 166 (A.D. 788) on it shows that the Muhammadans had begun to settle in these parts in his reign, and the tradition is not ill-founded.

Again, it is said that he built the temple of Tiruvanjaikkuḷam. We know that he had been living in this temple for a long time before he became king, and even after he became king he considered his life as nought if it was not spent in the worship of the Lord. There is nothing improbable, therefore, in that he should rebuild the temple on a grand style as a mark of his devotion after he ascended the throne.

We have already mentioned that the Nampūtirīs chose him as *Perumāḷ* for conducting their *Mahāmāgha* festival

at Tirunavayi. And we are told that they liked him so much that so long as he lived they did not bring an outsider to preside over it. It is said further that they conferred similar honours and privileges in respect of all their temples, as they had done on his predecessors. In the light of the later practice of the temple managements placing themsleves under the protection of one or the other of the numerous petty chiefs among whom Kēraḷa came to be divided after Cēramān's abdication, we must concede that the *Keralōtpatti* is recording here a genuine tradition.

To him is attributed also the building of a fortress called Cēramānkōṭṭa at Valaṛbhaṭṭam in the northern frontier near Taḷippaṛampa, where he is believed to have resided for a long time. New powers were rising in the north, and Cēramān might have thought it wise to strengthen the northern defences. The sanctity of Taḷippaṛampa might have induced him to make this fortress in its vicinity his residence for some time.

Barbosa tells us in his book (Vol. II, p. 42) that to enable the Nāyars to devote themselves entirely to military training he freed them from the burden of looking after their children by causing them to adopt the matrilineal system of inheritance, which would throw the whole responsibility of rearing and maintaining children upon the mother. There is no doubt that in later times the chiefs of Malabar, like the Zamorin, were able to induce particular families, like that of the Brahmin Varakkal Pāṛanampīs, to give up their patrilineal system in favour of the matrilineal. But the measure such as that attributed to Cēramān affected an entire community, and there is no evidence of our ancient kings having ever arrogated to themselves the function of the legislator. In these circumstances, it is highly improbable that Cēramān would have made such a sweeping change in

the custom of a whole folk, who were, in addition, the most warlike of his subjects.

In his *Letters from Malabar* (No. VIII) Canter Visscher ascribes the beginnings of the *Kūrmatsaram* or the Great Schism in Kēraḷa also to Cēramān. To prevent the Nāyars from becoming effiminate and to protect the country against any one of its princes becoming too powerful, says Visscher, the Perumāl, on the eve of his departure from the kingdom, divided the people into two mutually hostile parties under the leadership of the rival Brahmin settlements of Panniyūr and Covvaram. It is very difficult to believe that the Perumāḷ would have resorted to such Machiavellian tactics to maintain the balance of power in Kēraḷa. Epigraphic evidence, moreover, of the reign of Vīra Rāghava Cakṛavaṛti, who is considered to have reigned in the fourteenth century, shows that even at so late a period the rivalry of Panniyūr and Covvaram had not culminated in bloodshed.

External Invasions.

The Perumāḷ was desirous of peace with his neighbours; but he could not allow their encroachments. In the south there was constant friction with Varaguṇa, Rājasiṁha's successor, who coveted the strategic fortress of Viḷiñām.

We do not know what exactly was the relation between Cēramān and Rājasiṁha. Even if he had agreed to ascend the throne as his vassal—which is far from probable—Rājasiṁha's death must be regarded as releasing him from all obligations. Whatever might have been the practice in Northern India, the history of the 'three crowned kings' of the South shows that a change in succession involved the cancellation of all agreements among them. Even with the growth of a sense of conti-

nuity of administration in later times, the death of a chief, like the Zamorin, was regarded as terminating all appointments, and not even the hereditary ministers could exercise any authority without a formal warrant of appointment signed by the successor. It is no wonder, therefore, that homage and allegiance between kings were looked upon as personal affairs, lasting only for the life of the parties concerned.

Viḷiñām lay in the province of the Vēṇāḍ Aḍigaḷ (Travancore), who claimed unbroken descent from the Aays of the Samgham period. To strengthen him so that he might more effectively resist the aggressor, Cēramān made him the Governor of Ōnāḍ also.

Further to bridle the Pāṇḍyan's ambitions Cēramān entered into an alliance with the Koṅgus and the Pallavas, and even sent an army to help them. But Varaguṇa was more than a match for his enemies. About A.D. 780, he took the field against them. He drove the Pallavas pell-mell to Kāñcī. And capturing the Kōṅgu stronghold of Pērūr, he invaded Kēraḷa. And advancing through Vēṇāḍ, he returned to Madura, occupying Viḷiñām on the way.

This meagre account of the inscriptions is supplemented by the *Kēralōtpatti* (p. 50 ff.). The Pāṇḍyan entered Kēraḷa through the grand highroad from Karūr to Vañji. From the regions of the Anamalais, at the southern end of the great Pālghāṭ gap, he descended into Vēṅganād (Kollengōde) through the great forest of Kānam, and pushing his way westwards, established a fortress at Taravūr. The Perumāḷ came as far as Trikkāriyūr to meet the enemy, but thinking it wise to allow the storm to blow over, he retired to Tirunavayi. After the Pāṇḍyan king had left Kēraḷa, the Perumāḷ led his forces against Taravūr. But, compelled to fall back, he made a second attempt. He sent his son, Mānāvikraman, with the

famous Polanāḍ. Ten Thousand and Ernāḍ Thirty Thousand. And after a three days' hard fought battle he destroyed the fortress and compelled the garrison to leave Kēraḷa.

In the south the contest was more prolonged. In A.D. 788 Varaguṇa led a second invasion, this time against Śaḍavan Karunandan, who was assisting his kinsman, the Vēnāḍ chief. At last, in A.D. 792 the Vēṇāḍ chief succeeded in recovering Viḷiñām, the Pāṇḍyan king finally abandoning it with the loss of some of the bravest of his soldiers.

We do not hear of any further wars between Cēra and Pāṇḍya. And when Cēramān went to Madura in the course of his pilgrimage towards the end of his reign, he was cordially received by Varaguṇa. We are not told anywhere when peace was made between the two kings.

Perhaps Bāṇabhadra's coming to the Cēra court had something to do with it. He was the favourite musician of Varaguṇa. Śēkkiḷār tells us (C, 26—33) that he came to the Cēra court seeking gold and silver at the command of the Pāṇḍyan's tutelary deity, Lord Cokkanātha of Madura. It passes one's understanding why he came here on such a begging mission, as though his master could not adequately reward him; or for the matter of that God Cokkanātha should issue an order on Cēramān to give him whatever he might demand. We can easily see through Śēkkiḷār's object in bringing in this episode which is to enhance the glory of Cēramān as a devotee. But the story as it stands does not carry conviction. Perhaps Śēkkiḷār's religious obsession made him overlook the political object of Bāṇabhadra's visit. We will not be wrong if we hold that he came to Cēramān at the instance of Varaguṇa to settle the differences between the two countries, and of all the courtiers he was chosen for the task because he was a devotee like Cēramān, and it was wellknown that there

was nothing which Cēramān would refuse to a fellow-devotee.

Cēramān's Religion

Cēramān was an ardent devotee of Śiva. To what extremes he would go sometimes is illustrated by an incident narrated by Śēkkiḷār (C, 17-19). One day, while returning from the temple, the king happened to come across a washerman, with his body all white on account of the (Fuller's) earth, he was carrying in a basket on his head, having trickled down in the rain. At once reminded of his patron Lord, he got down from the state-elephant and prostrated himself before the embarrassed washerman, saying "I am slave Cēramān; your appearance brought to my mind the ash-covered figure of our Lord; no harm is done; go in peace."

He worshipped Śiva in his dancing aspect as Naṭarāja. His daily worship lasted many hours. In fact, he did not desist from it till he seemed to hear the tinkling rhythm of the god's anklets. Once this was delayed so long that in his despair Cēramān drew his sword to plunge it in his heart, when the tragedy was averted by the Lord manifesting the usual token. Towards the end of his life he went on a pilgrimage to Cidambaram, specially sacred to Naṭarāja.

The Christians say, on the other hand, that in his old age Cēramān embraced their faith, and he went to St. Thomas's shrine at Mylapore, and not to Cidambaram, where he at last laid down his bones. Only two writers, De Couto and Faria-Y-Souza uphold this tradition. But, in the first place, their dates do not tally with ours. Secondly, they do not also agree. The former cannot say whether it took place in the fourth or in the sixth century; the latter includes Cēramān among the kings who visited the infant Jesus at Bethelhelm.

According to the Muhammadans, Cēramān joined the ranks of the Faithful and went to Arabia, where he died at Zafar Mukhal. Formidable as the array of their evidence might appear, on analysis it also crumbles into nothing. In the first place, they assign the event to different centuries. The Calicut Muhammadans ascribe his conversion to the Prophet himself. The date we have assigned to the Perumāḷ is entirely inconsistent with this theory. Sheikh Zeinuddin gives a later date, sometime at the beginning of the ninth century. But he is certain that the Malabar king who embraced Islam was not Cēramān. The earlier Muhammadan writers, again, know nothing about the conversion of the Cēra king. Ibn Batuta (A.D. 1342), who gives a detailed account of the Muhammadans of Malabar, refers indeed to the conversion of a Malabar king, but he was the king of Baliapattam, at the northern end of Kēraḷa, far away from Crāṅganōre, and this took place in the thirteenth, not in the eighth or ninth, century. Abdur Razak, who came to Calicut in A.D. 1442 to convert the Zamorin, does not betray any knowledge of the tradition, though it would have been of the greatest propaganda value, as the Zamorins were the descendants of the Perumāḷ's Nediyiruppu wife and attributed their greatness to the Perumāḷ's blessings. Zeinuddin Muhammad, writing at the beginning of the fifteenth century, denounces the whole story. And Canter Visscher, the Dutch Chaplain, already referred to, regards it as filled with trifles and not hanging well together (Letter XIX).

The Partition of Kēraḷa

All the Malayāḷam sources concur in saying that before his pilgrimage the Perumāḷ partitioned his empire among his kinsmen and feudatories. And the *Kēralōtpatti* gives a circumstantial account of this partition (pp. 67 ff.). What the Perumāḷ seems to have done is to release them

from their allegiance to him. For these feudatories had been ruling their respective provinces as hereditary governors long before he came to the throne.

Understood in this way, the story receives some support from Sēkkiḷār also. When the Perumāḷ resolved upon his *Perumpayanam* or great journey we are told (C, 45), he summoned his ministers presumably to tell them of his intentions. His idea was to make the pilgrimage not as a king, but as a humble devotee. He was seventy years old. The journey was long and arduous; it lay through forests infested by robbers and wild animals. Sundara, we know (V, 166), was relieved of his treasures while on his way from Crāṅganōre to Tiruvāḷūr. The Perumāḷ could not say therefore when or whether at all he would be returning. The wise king that he was he could not but make some arrangement for the government of the kingdom after his departure. He had no Kshatriya son to succeed him. If he enthroned his nephew it might give offence to his son. And Mānavikraman could not succeed him, because, though his son, he did not belong to his caste. An easy way out of the difficulty was to recognise his feudatories as independent chiefs. The ministers must have been summoned by him therefore not merely to announce his impending departure but also to explain how he would like to provide for the government of his kingdom.

Thus the *Kēralōtpatti* and the *Periyapurāṇam* support each other, and the Partition of Kēraḷa does not seem to be a convenient fiction invented by the chiefs of Kēraḷa to establish their title.

The Pilgrimage

The king started from Tiruvanjaikkuḷam on an auspicious day. When he reached the eastern boundary of Veṅganāḍ, he bade farewell to the ministers, feuda-

tories and others of his faithful subjects who had been accompanying him, and attended only by those intimately connected with him, he proceeded through Kānam to Koñgunāḍ, and through Kāvērināḍ at last arrived at Cidambaram. From there he went to Tiruvāḷūr, where he became the disciple of Sundaramūrti. The two saints then started on a long tour in the course of which they came to Madura. The Pāṇḍyan king went out with his son-in-law, the Cōḷa king, to receive and bring them to his capital. After enjoying their hospitality for some time, Sundara and Cēramān resumed their journey, and after visiting all the important shrines of Pāndināḍ, returned to Tiruvāḷūr. From there they started for Kēraḷa, and through Kōñgunāḍ at last came to Malanāḍ. His loving subjects received him and his friend at Veñganāḍ, and conducted them with all pomp and ceremony to Tiruvanjaikkuḷam.

The date of this journey can only be approximately fixed. As the Perumāḷ's death took place only in A.D. 826, while Varaguṇa's reign is considered to have ended in A.D. 815, the question arises whether the Perumāḷ visited Madura in the reign of Varaguṇa or of his son. Though the holy character of the pilgrim entitled him to the friendliness and respect he was accorded there, it must have been in part due also to the amicable relations established through Bāṇabhadra. Further, Varaguṇa's successor could have been of such an age at the beginning of his reign as to have a son-in-law sufficiently old to be a crowned king, the enthronement of boys and child-marriage among royalty being rare in ancient days. So the Perumāḷ's visit to Madura must be assigned to Varaguṇa's reign. If Bāṇabhadra had been alive, we must find him playing an important part in the reception of the saints by the Pāṇḍyan. If we know the date of Bāṇabhadra's death, we can fix the date within still narrower limits.

It is not possible to say when exactly Cēramān returned from his pilgrimage. That his death took place only some time after his return is certain. For Sundara went back to Tiruvāḷūr, and then again came back to Vañji to join his friend and disciple. We may allow five years for this and fix the date of return at A.D. 820. In the same way we may allow five years for the Perumāḷ's journey to Tiruvāḷūr, and another five years for his return. Till better evidence is forthcoming from any of the numerous shrines visited by him, we may tentatively assign the pilgrimage to A.D. 810-820.

Ascension to Heaven

The attachment of the saints, one to the other, surpassed anything that we know of in history or fiction. For even in their last journey from this world—they went together. According to Śēkkiḷār (V, 28-49), one day, something impelled Sundara to go alone without his royal friend to Tiruvanjaikkuḷam and pray for his release from this world. At once the Lord of Kailās sent the white elephant. Sundara got upon it and rose to heaven, thinking of Cēramān whom he was leaving behind. Apprehending what was happening, the king threw himself upon a war-horse that was standing by and rushed to the temple. Seeing the white elephant going heavenward with its precious burden, he whispered the mystic *Pañcākshara* into the ears of his horse, whereupon it also began to rise in the air. Overtaking the white elephant, it began to lead the way in front. The king's soldiers divining his destination shook off their mortal coils and proceeded to Kailās to serve their master. At the intercession of Sundara, Śiva admitted him into his presence, and gratified by his hymns, made him the chief of his attendants.

Divested of the miracles we may say that Sundara died at the temple of Tiruvanjiakkuḷam while engaged in

prayer, and unable to bear the bereavement Cēramān also died immediately.

As already mentioned, this event occurred in the Tamil month of *Āḍi* (July-August), when the fifteenth asterism of *Svāti* was in the ascendant in A.D. 826. The king's loving subjects founded an era in his memory and began to celebrate the day of his ascension as enjoined in the Śāstras. We have the evidence of Sheikh Zeinuddin to show that even as late as the close of the sixteenth century the Cēramān Day was an occasion for many ceremonies, fireworks and illumination at Crāṅganōre.

Summary

Thus Cēramān cannot be dismissed as a mere mythical hero. He was a figure of history, and even the dates of the important events of his life and reign can be approximately fixed.

He was born at the Cēra capital of Crāṅganōre in A.D. 742. His mother was the sister of Śeṅgōrpoṟaiyan, the Cēra king, and his father was a Cōḷa prince, who had come to the Cēra court to make his fortune. Young Cēramān therefore grew up in the court of his uncle. But very early in his life he removed his residence to the temple of Tiruvanjaikkuḷam to spend his time in serving its Lord. In these activities he found a congenial and sympathetic soul in a lady of the house of Nediviruppu, whom he ultimately married according to the Malabar custom of *Sambandham.* He had a sister, who married the Perumpaṭappu Nampūtirī. On the abdication of Cēramān, years afterwards, his son became the first Zamorin (of Calicut) and his nephew the first ruler (of Cochin).

About A.D. 765 Rājasiṁha Pāṇḍya invaded Kēraḷa. Unable to defend the kingdom, Śeṅgōrpoṟaiyan abdicated

and retired to the forest. Thereupon the ministers persuaded Cēramān to ascend the throne.

He proved a very wise ruler. As he knew even the language of birds and beasts, nothing could be concealed from him. So crime was rare and the people honest. To improve the sea-borne trade of the country he repaired harbours, and settled the enterprising Arab Muhammadans on the sea-coast. He rebuilt the temple of Tiruvanjaikkuḷam, where he had spent his youth, and became the Protector of the big temples of the Brahmins. His reign received an added lustre from Śaṅkarācārya. Born at Kālaḍi, not far off from Crāṅganōre, in A.D. 788, this Brahmin Sannyāsin, as is wellknown, was able to establish the supremacy of Vedānta before his death at the early age of thirty-two in A.D. 820.

To prevent the constant encroachment of Varaguṇa Pāṅdya, Cēramān joined the Pallavas and the Koṅgus. But in A.D. 780 Varaguṇa defeated his enemies, entered Kēraḷa, established a fortress at Taravūr, and returned to Madura, occupying Viḷiñām on the way. But his success was only temporary. Mānavikraman destroyed Taravūr in A.D. 782, and the Vēṇāḍ Aḍigaḷ recovered Viḷiñām in A.D. 792. So Varaguṇa thought it better to finally give up his southern ambitions, and sent Bāṇabhadra to make a lasting peace with Cēramān.

Cēramān's devotion to Śiva grew with years. At last, in A.D. 810, he left Kēraḷa on a grand pilgrimage, after releasing his feudatories from their allegiance to him. First he went to Cidambaram; then to Tiruvāḷūr where he became the disciple and friend of Sundaramūrti. The two saints then left Tiruvāḷūr on a visit to the sacred shrines of Tamilnāḍ. At Madura Varaguṇa accorded them a cordial welcome. After finishing their tour of Tamilnāḍ, Cēramān came back to Kēraḷa in A.D. 820 with Sundara.

Received with all honours by the grateful *Sāmantas* —whom he had made independent—Cēramān took up his residence with Sundara, who left him only for a short visit to Tiruvāḷūr, at Tiruvanjaikkuḷam. At last, in A.D. 826, the Brahmin saint and his royal companion departed from this world, both of them on the same day. In memory of their saintly king his former subjects founded an era, and the Cēramān Day became an annual festival at Crāṅganōre.

THE ISLAND OF K'UN-LUN AND CANDRADVĪPA

(崑崙)

BY

DR. P. C. BAGCHI, M.A., DR. ES LETTERS,
University of Calcutta.

In a Sanskrit-Chinese dictionary of the 8th century A.D., which I edited a few years ago, the Sanskrit name for K'un-lun is given in the old Siddhaṁ alphabet as Ji-pā-tta-la (*Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois*, Tome II, pp. 348-349). The word may be corrected according to the Chinese transcription as *Nipāttala*. In Chinese it really stands for Dipāttala which again has been corrected as *Dvīpatala* by Oda Tokuno in his famous dictionary Bukkyo-daijiten.

Dvīpatala however does not correspond to anything known. Prof. Lévi therefore proposed to correct the name as Dvīpāntara. (*K'ouen-louen et Dvīpāntara* in *Bijdragen tot de Taäl-land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, Deel 88, Afl. IV, 1931). Prof. Lévi has collected a large number of passages from the Kathāsaritsāgara to show that the name *dvīpāntara* had real geographical significance in India in ancient times. The mention of this island occurs in two stories, nos. XXV and XXVI. The island is mentioned in connection with a city named Kanakapurī. A person named Śaktideva desirous of going there questioned a Ṛṣi named Dīrghatapas about it. The Ṛṣi answered :

iyatā vayaṣā putra purī sādya śrutā mayā/
deśāntaragataiḥ kaiḥ kair jātaḥ paricayo na me//
na ca tāṁ śrutavān asmi dūre taddarśanaṁ punaḥ/
jānāmy ahaṁ ca niyataṁ davīyasi tayā kvacit//
bhavyaṁ dvīpāntare vatsa tatropāyaṁ ca vacmi te/

"Though I am so old, my son, I have never heard of that city till to-day, I have made acquaintance with various travellers from foreign lands, and I have never heard anyone speak of it, much less have I seen it But I am sure it must be in some distant foreign island." (Tawney, Penzer's edition, vol. II, p. 191).

Tawney has translated *dvīpāntara* as "distant foreign island." In all other cases where the word occurs he translates the name similarly as "distant island" or as "other islands." But Lévi is of opinion that the name was used in a more definite geographical sense. Kanakapurī which according to Somadeva was situated in the region of Dvīpāntara reminds us of the names Suvarṇabhūmi and Suvarṇadvīpa. Dvīpāntara, therefore, in all probability meant the islands of the South Sea. The word is used in the same sense in the old Javanese texts (Lévi—*ibid.*). It may be added in this connection that in Indian popular tradition also a similar sense is still attached to the word Dvīpāntara. It meant those islands to which the exiles used to be sent even a few years ago.

But even then Dvīpāntara seems to have been a sort of general designation for the South Sea Islands and did not mean a particular island. The Chinese name K'un-lun was certainly not so general a geopraphical name as Dvīpāntara. The Lexicographer of the 8th century used a general name as he could not find a more particular one.

The ancient Chinese sources mention an island named K'un-lun in the South Sea. It is generally identified with the small group of islands called Pulo Condore situated near the peninsular portion of Cochin China. The famous Chinese pilgrim Yi-tsing who visited India in the third quarter of the 7th cent. refers to the island of K'u-lun (variant K'un-lun) while giving a description of the important kingdoms and islands in Further India (*Takakusu*, *I-tsing*, p. 10). Yi-tsing then makes an ob-

servation to the effect that all islands of the South Sea were generally known as K'un-lun to the Chinese "since the people of K'u-lun (or K'un-lun) first visited Kochin and Kwang-tung." Takakusu while commenting on this passage says: "K'u-lun is identical with K'un-lun, the Chinese name for Pulo Condore. The native name is Kon-non—Condore being a corruption of it. The Arab travellers of the ninth century call this group of islands by the name Sundar Fulat while Marco Polo names the same Sundur and Condur. It consists of one isle of twelve miles long, two of two or three miles and some six other smaller isles, the largest being specially called Pulo Condore." (Takakusu—*ibid.*, p. xlix.)

Most of the Chinese texts concerning K'un-lun have been discussed by Prof. Pelliot in an article of almost classical importance for the geography of Further India (*Deux Itineraires de Chine en Inde*, B. E. F. E. O., 1904, pp. 218ff.). Pelliot has pointed out that K'un-lun of Yi-tsing could not have been the small group of islands which is now known as Pulo Condore. Yi-tsing tells us that the people of the island had embraced Buddhism and that the local king had given for the use of the monastery there a peculiar clepsydra. We are further told by the pilgrim that the local Buddhists had regard for Sanskrit Sūtras (Takakusu, *ibid.*, pp. 145, 169). In another work Yi-tsing says that the language of K'un-lun was prevalent in Śrīvijaya (Chavannes—*Religieux Eminents*, etc., p. 159). This was then an important island in the South Sea region.

Pelliot has shown that there was more than one K'un-lun in this region. While speaking of the vassal states of the kingdom of P'iao (Burma) the new T'ang annals mention the country of K'un-lang inhabited by a tribe called "Little K'un-lun." The king of the country is mentioned as Mang-si-yue (*mang-siet-giuet = Vaṁśī-

gupta?). Not far from it there was the country of Lu-yu which according to the same annals was inhabited by the "Great K'un-luns." The direction given in the text has led Pelliot to locate the two kingdoms of the Little and Great K'un-luns in the region of Tenasserim. This was the country of the Mons. There is reference to another K'un-lun to the east of Java.

We have seen that Yi-tsing speaks of the language of the K'un-lun as an important vehicle of Buddhist studies in the region of South Sea Islands. The Buddhist monks of Śrīvijaya (Palembang in Sumatra) also used to study it. There is also mention of a vast literature of Buddhism in this language in the Chinese texts. We learn from the *Siu kao seng chuan* that in course of a military expedition in the kingdom of Champa (Annam) in 605 A.D. a Chinese general brought back with him 1350 Buddhist texts in 564 bundles which were all written in the K'un-lun script.

M. Ferrand has also studied the question of K'un-lun from Chinese, Malay and Arab points of view and collected much additional information (*Le K'ouen-louen et les anciennes navigations interocéaniques dans les mers du Sud*, *J. As.*, 1919, p. 304). Ferrand has summarised the results of the researches and has concluded that K'un-lun meant:

(*a*) different islands in trans-Gangetic India and Indonesia.

(*b*) Pulaw Kundur (Pulo Condore).

(*c*) Culao Cam (S. E. of Turan).

(*d*) K'un-lun in Campa, Cambodia, Burma, Malay Peninsula (near Tenaserim), Sumatra and Java.

(*e*) a neighbouring country of Nan-chao (Shan States).

(*f*) Madagascar according to Arab writers—the name being Komr, which meant "the island of the moon."

It therefore appears that the name K'un-lun had a very wide geographical use. It was most probably carried by a set of colonisers to different places from a particular centre and that centre was situated somewhere in Further India in its peninsular region. The name Pulaw Condore has been taken to be a Malay word meaning "the island of gourd." Pulaw or Pulo means "island." Condore has been supposed to be the same as Malay Kundur which means "gourd, pumpkin." The Chinese name K'un-lun is admittedly the transcription of a foreign word. The Annamese Côn-nôn records only another pronunciation of the Chinese name. The old Chinese pronunciation was *Kudn-ludn which may be restored either as Kundur or Cundur. The Annamese pronunciation Côn-nôn shows that it could also represent *Can-dar*<Skt. Candra. I therefore think that K'un-lun or Pulo Condore stood for Sanskrit Candradvīpa through a Prakrit or a Malay intermediate form like *Candar*. This interpretation of the name is amply confirmed by the Malagasy name of Madagascar -Ḳomr which, Ferrand has shown, meant "the island of the moon" (Candra-dvīpa). The old Arab transcriptions of the name of Pulo Condore as Sundur Fulat clearly shows that the initial consonant was not a *k* but a *c*.

By accepting this identification of the name K'un-lun with Candar or Candra we can probably explain some of the royal and official titles used in the kingdom of K'un-lun better. Pelliot while discussing Chinese documents relating to Fu-nan (ancient Cambodia) has pointed out that according to some of the documents the king of T'un-sun (in Malay Peninsula) who was a vassal of Fu-nan was called *K'un-lun*. The same document further

says that in the same kingdom there were five hundred families of *hu* (people of Central-Asian origin) coming from India. There were also more than a thousand Indian Brahmins. This shows to what extent the kingdom of T'un-sun had become an Indian colony. The same Chinese text further says that in the kingdom of P'an-p'an (also in Malay Peninsula) three of the four high officials were called K'un-lun (Pelliot—*Le Fou nan*, B. E. F. E. O., III, p. 88; *Deux Itinéraires*, p. 228). K'un-lun in all these cases may be taken as an old transcription of the Indian name Candra. In fact we get the name Candra as the part of the names of kings and nobles in plenty in this period both in India and in the Hinduised kingdoms in trans-Gangetic India.

We may probably explain in a similar way an ancient name of the family to which the kings of Fu-nan also belonged. The new T'ang annals tell us that the name of the family of the kings of Fu-nan was Ku-long. Later writers commenting on the passage say that the two Chinese words Ku-long are only variants of K'un-lun (Pelliot—*ibid.*, p. 83, *Deux Itinéraires*, p. 92). Candra as the name of the family of the kings of Fu-nan need not surprise us. An earlier Chinese text tells us that the king of Fu-nan named T'ien-chu Chen-t'an sent present of elephants to the Chinese emperor in 357 A.D. (*Le Fou-nan*, pp. 62, 78). Pelliot has shown that the use of the expression T'ien-chu clearly shows that the king was of Indian origin. He further suggested that the name Chen-t'an stands either for Candra or Candana.

The same name Chen-t'an is found in certain texts relating to Kaniṣka, the Kushan emperor of India. In an earlier article (*Deux peuples méconnus*, Mélanges Charles Harlez, 1896) Prof. Lévi tried to explain the name as *Cīnasthāna* which would be according to him a sort of synonym of *devaputra*, the title used by Kaniṣka.

But in an article posthumously published, which his sudden death did not allow him to complete, he definitely gave up the old suggestion and made a new one according to which Chent'an would be Candra (*Kanīṣka et Śātavāhana—deux figures symboliques de l'Inde au premier siècle*, J. As., 1936, pp. 61—121). The same title, as he has shown, is also given in some Chinese texts as *Chen-t'o.* The king referred to in the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* as Sandanes would be also Candra Kaniṣka. It is therefore clear that one of the titles of Kaniṣka was Candra. This was probably due to the fact that he belonged to a dynasty which had the name of Candra. It is not impossible, as Prof. Lévi has pointed out that the king of Fu-nan, the Indian Candra who was ruling in the 4th century A.D. belonged to the same race as Kaniṣka.

While discussing the place of origin of Matsyendranātha, I collected a few years ago the various Indian traditions on Candradvīpa (*Kaulajñānanirṇaya and some minor texts of the school of Matsyendranātha*, Calcutta Sanskrit Series, 1934, pp. 29ff.). I pointed out there that although since the Mahomedan period a certain portion of Backergunj has been called Candradvīpa the name was not exclusively confined to that area in earlier times. The trace of the name can be found in widely separated parts of the coastal region of Bengal. The conclusion which I drew then was that in earlier times "the entire coastal region including the island of Sundwip was once known as Candradvīpa." Some scholars judged it summarily, condemned it and said that Bakla Candradvīpa was the only Candradvīpa meant in early literature (*Indian Culture*, II, p. 151), whereas others ignored it altogether (*History of Bengal*, Dacca University, s.v. Candradvīpa, p. 18). But the evidences which I have now discussed amply confirm my previous conclusion on the subject and show that Candra-

dvīpa was not so definite a geographical name as we are accustomed to think. Like many other names it had been carried to distant lands by the ancient colonisers and was in use in widely separated regions from the coastal region of Bengal to the Malay Peninsula and Indo-China and from Insulindia to Madagascar. With the foundation of independent kingdoms the old name which was of too vague and wide application had to yield ground to more definite geographical names. The old name only survived in tradition and in the name of the small archipelago of Pulaw Condore.

THREE METAL IMAGES OF THE SARNATH MUSEUM

BY

ADRIS BANERJI, M.A.,
Custodian, Sarnath Museum.

In examining metallic antiquities at the Sarnath Museum, I came across three images which deserve notice and have not been to my knowledge reproduced before. It is noteworthy that, though lumps of copper together with a doubtful smelting pipe and a number of crucibles have been found at Sarnath, the site does not seem to have been a centre of bronze smelting industry as Nalanda. It is possible that these three images, as Mr. T. N. Ramachandran suggests, were brought from some other place and were not locally made. Unfortunately I have been unable to trace records of the find of these images except a short notice by Sir John Marshall.

1. Copper statuette. Cast. 6″ in ht., approximately (fig. 1).

The figure is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* attitude on a lotus seat of which the left side is damaged. The right hand is resting on the right knee in *varada-mūdrā;* the left hand is raised and holds the stem of a flower[1] (blue lotus?) which is attached to the back of the throne. On the right side is another flower apparently with no iconographical significance, but probably put there to keep the balance. The figure has a chignon crown on head, from which some unruly locks of hair emerge, to fall on

[1] For the same treatment see the unnumbered Khasarpaṇa image in Room no. III of the Archaeological Museum at Sarnath.

neck. The treatment of the hair is very conventionalised. The figure wears a necklace of beads, armlets and wristlets and is clad in a *saṅghāṭī* which passes over the right shoulder leaving the left bare. The contour of the belly has been treated with great delicacy but it has the stiffness of the *Bhṛikuṭi* Tārā image of the Sarnath Museum.

The date of the image is *circa* 12th century A.D. As to the identification we have to take into consideration this date which takes it to the age of *Vajrayāna* Buddhism, which held predominant sway over Sarnath from 9th century onwards. No doubt Padmapāṇi Bodhisattva was accepted into the pantheon but it played no prominent rôle. As a matter of fact after the 7th century A.D. not a single image of this Bodhisattva was established at Sarnath. Therefore the probability lies in favour of a divinity who held the public imagination at that time. We shall not be guilty of an exaggeration if we state that from the 9th century onwards *tāntrika* Buddhism and Hinduism had greater influence on mass mind than older sects and faiths. With regard to the *āsana*, it is no doubt accepted that Padmapāṇi could be represented in any attitude, but in the *Sādhanamālā* there are no verses in support of this idea. Again the same is the case with Mañjuśrī-Siddhaikavīra. In his work Dr. B. Bhattacharyya has quoted only one *sādhana*.[2] There are however additional *sādhanas* relating to Mañjuśrī-Siddhaikavīra. By this I do not mean to asservate that Padmapāṇi could not be represented in any form, but what I do suggest is that they show at least the importance enjoyed by Siddhaikavīra in *vajrayāna* pantheon. There is one *sādhana* on p. 140, another on p 143 and another on p. 145;[3] and in drawing our atten-

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[2] B. Bhattacharyya, *The Buddhist Iconography*, p. 21.

[3] Ditto, *Sādhanamālā*, Vol. i.

tion to this *sādhana* giving the *maṇḍala* of Siddhaikavīra Dr. Bhattacharyya concludes by saying "the *sādhanas* are not explicit as to the pose of the god and we shall not be surprised if he is found standing as in the Sarnath image."[4] Further we find the Bodhisattva is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* attitude and his right hand is in *varada-mudrā*.

The last point which requires consideration is the flower in the hands of the deity. If it is a red lotus it can be Padmapāṇi, if it is blue lotus it is Siddhaikavīra. A close observation will convince anybody that some efforts were made to distinguish it from other species. It is totally different from that on the right side of the deity, which indicates that it was *nīlotpala* (Blue lotus). Fortunately we have at Sarnath, a large number of images in which this lotus occurs. These are D(a) 42, the unnumbered Khasarpaṇa image in Room No. III and others, all of which hold the Blue lotus, and they show the lotus from all possible angles. Generally speaking, a blue lotus which is supposed to be closed by day, is shown with all its petals closed, while the red lotus has all its petals open. Both these types of representations are found in the Sarnath Museum images.[5] What is more, the same kind of representation is met with in the unnumbered Khasarpaṇa-Lokeśvara image. These considerations as well as the conformity with the *sādhanas* has led me to identify it as an image of Siddhaikavīra.

2. Female figure. Cast. Ht. 5¾″; width at base 2½″. (Fig. 2).

Stands on a lotus with double rows of petals (*viśvapadma*). The hair is bound in a circular knot, below

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

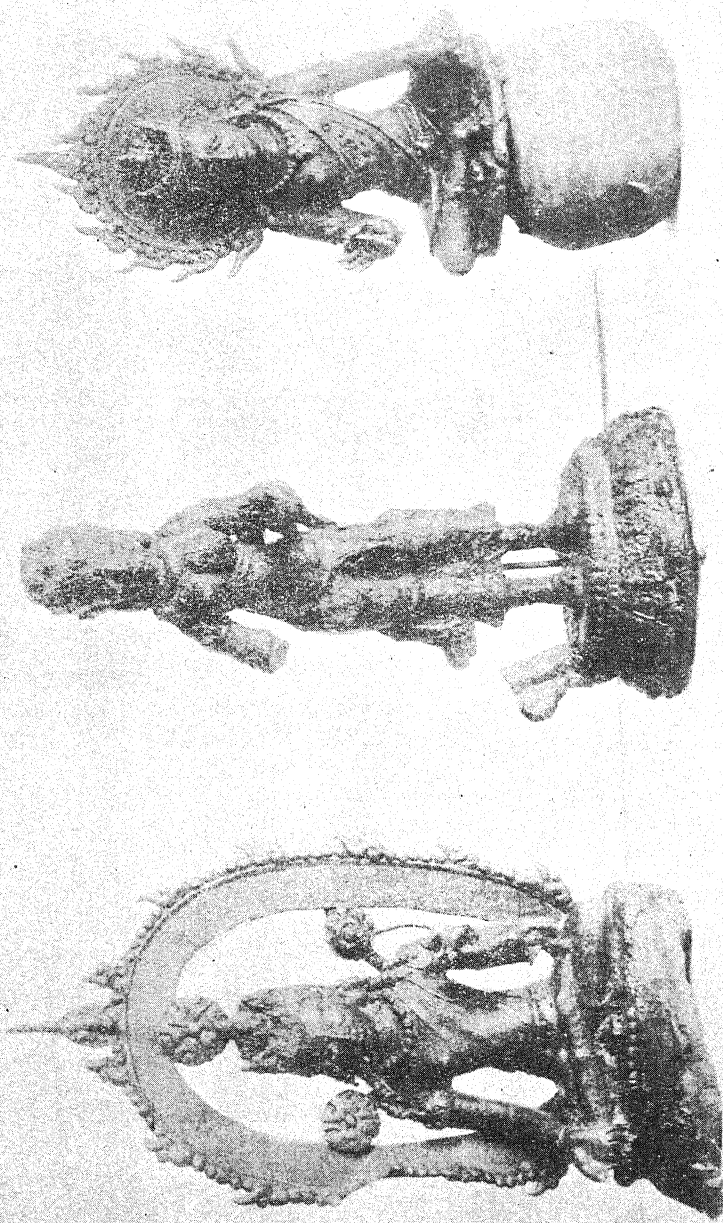
[5] These are:—B (d) 8 (Khasarpaṇa. The lotus is in full bloom). B (d) 9 (Mañjuvara, Closed), B (f) 7, 337E, 343E, and unnumbered Khasarpaṇa-Lokeśvara. For these see Sahni, *Catalogue of the Sarnath Museum.*

which is a tiara. She is wearing earrings, armlets, bracelets and necklaces. She has full busts (in exaggerated properties like the Vajra-Tārā of the Sarnath Museum), attenuated waist, with a portion of her sārī over her left arm, in which she holds an indistinct object. Due to extreme corroded state of the object it is very difficult to distinguish it. At first, I was tempted to take it as an image of Tārā considering the object held in the palm as a stalk of a lotus. A comparison with the image of Siddhaikavīra convinced me that the stem would have been represented here almost as a wire, whereas the object held is a thick sheet of copper. It is probably *Prajñāpāramitā* and the image is that of *Vajraśāradā*.[6] It behoves me, however, to add a warning here that the right hand of the divinity would have given us conclusive proof, which is missing. The identification therefore is to be regarded as tentative.

3. Brass male figure. Cast. Ht. 6″ (including tenon). (Fig. 3).

This is an image of Maitreya-Bodhisattva seated with a citron in his left hand and a rosary in his raised right hand. He is wearing a chignon crown, armlets and wristlets in the hands and a necklace around the neck. A long garland-like object is seen hanging around his torso, which is probably the sacred thread. On the waist is a belt with a flower-like clasp below the navel. He is wearing loin cloth and a deer-skin which passes over the left shoulder leaving the right bare. Behind the head is a plain circular halo with rope pattern at the border and the flames issuing out of its edges.

In depicting the deer-skin, the artist has shown considerable ingenuity. By making small incisions on the

[6] P. Bhattacharyya, *The Buddhist Iconography*, p. 151, pl, xl, (d and e).

The Metal Images of Sarnath Museum.
From left :—Siddhaikavira, Vajraśāradā (?) and Maitreya.

surface he has tried to represent the spots of the deer. A hooked nose, however, has spoiled the beauty of the face. The image was found by Sir John Marshall in the year 1907-08,[7] in the area north of the Main Shrine at Sarnath. The attempt to indicate the folds of the skin is not successful. In conformity with the canons in vogue in those days the broad chest converges into a slim waist, but the lines do not flow easily nor the locks of the hair fall gracefully on the shoulder as is the case with the Siddhaikavīra image. The drawing and position of the right foot is inaccurate and unconventional. Though the law of frontality has the predominant influence, yet the complete circles made by the armlets as well as portions of the back suggest that it might have been cast with an effort to create a three dimensional effect. The work is very late, *circa* 12th century A.D.

In judging the technique of these bronze images, a branch of study still in its infantile stage in India, we have to bear in mind the warning given by Stanley Casson that "In stone sculptures we have the original surface that was handled by the sculptors, which can have suffered no chemical change at all but at the worst a simple accretion or partial denudation; while in the Bronzes we have statues which are not in origin the direct work of the artists and which in addition have suffered a certain metamorphosis which prevents us from claiming the surface that we see as the surface which was seen and approved by the artist."[8] In addition to these we work at another disadvantage, because we are totally ignorant about the quality and composition of the alloy or alloys. The images generally described as copper might be of pure

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[7] *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1907-08, p. 73, λ27.

[8] S. Casson, *The Technique of the Early Greek Sculpture*, Oxford, 1933. p. 152.

copper or mixed with a certain amount of zinc or tin, while others sometimes described as brass may be bronze, bell metal or other mixed metals which only chemical analysis can determine.

Undoubtedly they were cast in *cire-perdue* process. A careful examination of these three specimens has convinced me that the treatment for the final surface did take place. Marks of bad casting being improved are to be found on the Maitreya image. Soldering seems also to have been applied to add the details. By cire-perdue process, one advantage could be gained which is not easily obtainable in ordinary casting. The minutest detail could be worked out in the mould before wax was applied. Strangely, however, the seat of the Siddhaikavīra image seems to have been produced differently. Portions of this have been damaged on the proper left side of the image. But on the right for a length of ½″ the edge has become detached.

THE AVATĀRAS OF VIṢṆU AND THEIR ENUMERATION IN SOME EARLY INDIAN TEXTS

BY

DR. JITENDRA NATH BANERJEE, M.A., PH.D.,

University of Calcutta.

The doctrine of the Vibhavas (*Avatāras*, i.e., the incarnatory forms of Viṣṇu) was a component part of the Pāñcarātra or the Bhāgavata system like that of the Vyūhas. The term *Avatāra* (literally 'descent') applied to the act of a god in assuming the form of a man or an animal and continuing to live in that form upon the earth till the particular purpose for which he had 'descended' was fulfilled; thus, it is quite distinguishable from transmigration, identification (where one deity is identified with the other), or emanation (as is fully displayed in the Vyūha doctrine). It is also not quite the same as the 'possession' of one individual by the divinity, in which the latter takes up temporary abode in the former; but this idea of 'possession' has to a certain extent manifested itself in the story of the Paraśurāma avatāra of Viṣṇu. In the Pāñcarātra theology, the Vibhavas, i.e., manifestations or *Avatāras* belong to Pure Creation, and these incarnations may not only be of the Lord Viṣṇu, himself, but can also be of his Vyūhas, sub-Vyūhas, his Pārṣadas (companions) or even of his attributes or emblems. H. Jacobi says, 'The tenet of incarna-

tion is a fundamental one in mediaeval and modern Hindu religion and specially it is so with the Viṣṇuites.' The reference to the assumption of a particular form by Viṣṇu in battles, in Ṛgveda, VII. 100, 6, is taken by some scholars (*e.g.*, R. P. Chanda, in his *Indo-Aryan Races*, p. 111) as the earliest one to incarnation; the verse in question means 'O Viṣṇu is it worthy of you to establish (to make public) the name 'bald' by which I call you? Do not assume this form, since thou didst assume another form in battle'

किमित्ते विष्णो परिचक्ष्यं भूत् प्र यद्ववक्षे शिपिविष्टो अस्मि ।
मा वर्पो अस्मदप गूह एतद् यदन्यरूपः समिथे बभूथ ॥

But this is not quite to the point; for there is no explicit reference in this passage to Viṣṇu's having incarnated himself in a particular form for some special purpose. The earliest passages referring to the idea of assumption of some forms by the divinity for the attainment of certain ends are to be found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* where Prajāpati is said to have assumed Fish, Tortoise and Boar (Matsya, Kūrma and Varāha) forms on different occasions. When the doctrine of incarnations in its association with Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa was well-established, all these three were bodily transferred to that composite god, and were regarded as a few of his celestial incarnations. This idea is first systematically expounded especially with reference to the god's human incarnations in the first part of the fourth canto of the *Bhagavadgītā*. When Arjuna doubts the statement of Kṛiṣṇa about his expounding the theory and practice of *Yoga* (really the doctrine of the *Ekāntika dharma*) to the patriarchs of old, the latter replies, 'Many births of me have passed, and of thee, O Arjuna. I know them all, thou knowest them not, Paraṁtapa. Though unborn and immutable in essence, though Lord of beings, yet govern-

ing Nature which is mine. I come into being by my power of delusion. For whensoever right declines, O Bhārata, and wrong uprises, then I create myself. To guard the good, and to destroy the wicked, and to confirm the right, I come into being in this age and in that.'[1]

The above passage in the *Bhagavadgītā* about the incarnations of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa, though explicit about the underlying idea, does not specify their number and refers to it as indefinite and unlimited. Some later texts, however, have been at pains to enumerate the incarnatory forms and gradually the exact number came to be definitely fixed at ten (Daśāvatāras). It will be useful to refer briefly to a few of these texts which supply us with different lists of these avatāras; because in a collective study of them we shall not only recognise all the stereotyped ten (this list also varies occasionally in the north and south of India), whose icons are commonly to be found, but also various others, many of whose images, though not so common, are well-known to the students of iconography. The *Nārāyaṇīya* section of the *Mahābhārata* refers in one list (XII, 349, 37) to the Varāha, the Vāmana, the Narasiṁha and the Man incarnations; probably the last refers to his incarnations as Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, Dāśarathi Rāma, and Bhārgava Rāma,

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[1] The above translation of the *Bhagavadgītā*, IV. 5-8, is by W. D. P. Hill; cf., his edition of the work, *Introduction*, p. 25. It should be noted that these repeated incarnations are those of Kṛṣṇa and not of Viṣṇu; the identification of the two had well begun, however, when the work was composed, but as Hill says 'Kṛṣṇa himself at no point in the *Gītā* (not even in the *avatāra* passage, where we should most have expected it) makes any definite claim to Viṣṇu. His *avatāra* is a 'descent of Brahman'. But there can be no question of thus distinguishing between Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇu in the post-Christian period.

for in the chapter 339 (verses 77—90) of the same Parvan, not only the stories about the first three in the above list are briefly narrated, but also the same about his incarnations as Bhārgava Rāma, Dāśarathi Rāma, and Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa are recounted. But in the verse 104 of the same chapter, a fuller list is given, which contains the names of Haṁsa, Kūrma, Matsya, Varāha, Narasiṁha, Vāmana, Rāma (Bhārgava), Rāma Dāśarathi, Sātvata (i.e., Vāsudeva) and Kalki (*Haṁsaḥ Kūrmaśca Matsyaśca prādurbhavaddvijottama, Varāho Narasiṁhaśca Vāmano Rāma eva ca, Rāmo Dāśarathiścaiva Sātvataḥ Kalkireva ca*). It should be noted that though the number is ten in this last list, Buddha does not find a place here and Kṛṣṇa occupies the position of his elder brother, Balarāma (Saṁkarṣaṇa, but Sātvata may also refer to the latter who was also a Sātvata chief). The *Harivaṁśa* gives the same names as are contained in the first list of the *Nārāyaṇīya*. In the *Vāyu Purāṇa* the names of several of the incarnations of Viṣṇu occur among those of the different struggles that took place between the devas and asuras; cf. ch. 97, verses 72 ff. In the *Varāhakalpa*, there occurred twelve fights between the gods and the demons, the names of which are in order of precedence: (1) Narasiṁha, (2) Vāmana, (3) Varāha, (4) Amṛtamanthana, (5) Tārakāmaya, (6) Āḍīvaka, (7) Traipura, (8) Andhakāra, (9) Dhvaja, (10) Vārtta (Vārtra, from Vṛtra), (11) Halāhala, (12) Kolāhala (some of these struggles are associated with Śiva and Indra instead of Viṣṇu). In chapter 98 (verses 71 ff.) of the same *Purāṇa* mention is made of ten incarnations of Viṣṇu of which the first three, *viz.*, Yajña, Narasiṁha, Vāmana, are celestial ones (*Etāstisraḥ smṛtāstasya divyāḥ sambhūtayaḥ śubhāḥ*); while the fourth called Dattātreya, one unnamed called the fifth in the Tretāyuga, Jāmadagnya Rāma, Dāśarathi Rāma, Vedavyāsa, Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa and lastly the future

incarnation Kalki are his human ones. In the last list also no mention is made of Buddha, and a few other constituents of the stereotyped list of ten. In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, there are three enumerations of the *avatāras*: in the first (Bk. I, ch. 3, verses 6—25), 22, in the second (Bk. II, ch. 7, verses 1ff.), 23 and in the third (Bk. XI, ch. 4, verses 3ff), 16 are mentioned. The first list contains the names of (1) Puruṣa, (2) Varāha, (3) Nārada, (4) Nara and Nārāyaṇa, (5) Kapila, (6) Dattātreya, (7) Yajña, (8) Ṛṣabha, (9) Pṛithu, (10) Matsya, (11) Kūrma, (12) Dhanvantari, (13) Mohinī, (14) Narasiṁha, (15) Vāmana, (16) Bhārgava Rāma, (17) Vedavyāsa, (18) Dāśarathi Rāma, (19) Balarāma, (20) Kṛiṣṇa, (21) Buddha and (22) Kalkin. It will be seen that in the above list all the ten appearing in the stereotyped list are included; but in the context, the Purāṇakāra tells us that his avatāras are innumerable (*Avatārā-hyasaṁkheyā Hareḥ sattvanidherdvijāḥ*). The difference of this list with the other two in the same Purāṇa is immaterial, the last omitting some included in the first, but none of them omits Ṛṣabha and Buddha. The *Varāha* and *Agni Purāṇas* contain the stereotyped list of ten incarnations, while the *Matsya Purāṇa* (ch. 47) lays down that Viṣṇu was born seven times among men because he was cursed by Bhṛigu for killing his wife, the mother of Śukra (*Yasmāt te jānato dharmmamavadhyā strī niṣūditā/, Tasmāt tvaṃ saptakṛitvaiha mānuṣeṣūpapatsyasi;* v. 106); these seven, viz., (1) Dattātreya, (2) Māndhātā, (3) Jāmadagnya (Bhārgava) Rāma, (4) Dāśarathi Rāma, (5) Vedavyasa, (6) Buddha and (7) Kalkin when added to three incarnations, viz., Nārāyaṇa, Narasiṁha and Vāmana make up the full quota of ten—the constituents of which, however, widely differ from the generally accepted Daśāvatāras. Before the discussion about the number and the nature of these incarnations is closed, a reference to the Ahir-

budhnya list of the Vibhavas will be necessary; this *Pāñcarātra Saṁhitā* mentions as many as thirty-nine such, a short analysis of which will supply us with some useful information. Schraeder thus enumerates the follow ing 39 principal Vibhavas on the basis of the said text :— (1) Padmanābha, (2) Dhruva, (3) Ananta, (4) Śaktyātman, (5) Madhusūdana, (6) Vidyādhideva, (7) Kapila, (8) Viśvarūpa, (9) Vihaṅgama, (10) Kroḍātman, (11) Vaḍavāvaktra, (12) Dharma, (13) Vāgīśvara, (14) Ekārṇavaśāyin, (15) Kamaṭheśvara, (16) Varāha, (17) Narasiṁha, (18) Pīyūṣaharaṇa, (19) Śrīpati, (20) Kāntātman, (21) Rāhujit, (22) Kālanemighna, (23) Pārijātahara, (24) Lokanātha, (25) Śāntātman, (26) Dattātreya. (27) Nyagrodhaśāyin, (28) Ekaśṛṅgatanu, (29) Vāmanadeha, (30) Trivikrama, (31) Nara, (32) Nārāyaṇa, (33) Hari, (34) Kriṣṇa, (35) Paraśurāma, (36) Rāma Dhanurdhara, (37) Vedavid, (38) Kalkin, (39) Pātālaśayana. Schraeder remarks, 'This list has been reproduced almost exactly from the ninth pariccheda of *Sātvata Saṁhitā* (ed. pp. 79-80); and to that work we are, indeed, referred by our Saṁhitā (5. 57. 1.) for a comprehensive description of the origin, etc., of these Vibhavas (*Introduction to Pāñcarātra*, p. 43). The verses in the *Sātvata Saṁhitā* are: *Padmanābhādayo deva vācyasteṣām krameṇa tu, Padmanābho Dhruvo'nantaḥ Śaktyātmā Madhusūdanaḥ; Vidyādhidevaḥ Kapilo Viśvarūpo Vihaṅgamaḥ, Kroḍātmā Vaḍavāvaktro Dharmo Vāgīśvarastathā; Deva Ekārṇavaśayaḥ Kūrmaḥ pātāladhārakaḥ, Varāho Narasiṁhaścāpy-Amṛta haraṇastuvai; Śrīpatidivyadehotha. Kāntātmāmṛtadhārakaḥ. Rāhujit Kālanemighnaḥ Pārijātaharo mahān; Lokanāthastu Śāntāmā Dattātreyo mahāprabhuḥ, Nyagrodhaśāyī bhagavān-Ekāśṛṅgatanustataḥ; Devo Vāmanadehastu sarvavyāpī Trivikramaḥ, Naro Nārāyaṇaścaiva Hariḥ Kṛṣṇastathaivaca; Jvalatparaśudhṛig-Rāmo Rāmaścānyo dhanurdharaḥ;*

Vedavidbhagavān Kalkī Pātālaśayanaḥ prabhuḥ (IX, 77—83). In this curious assortment, one can easily recognise not only the accepted ten names, a few of the sub-Vyūhas, as well as other incarnatory forms which have been enumerated in the fuller lists of the different Purāṇas, mentioned above, but also other names such as Vāgīśvara (13) and Lokanātha (24) can be found which most probably belong to the Mahāyāna Buddhist pantheon; Buddha himself is named as Śāntātman (No. 25) in the list. Schraeder could not recognise Buddha in the Sātvata or Ahirbudhnya list.[2] The stereotyped ten incarnations appear in the above two lists under the following names:—I. Ekaśṛṅgatanu (No. 28—Matsya), II. Kamaṭheśvara (No. 15—Kūrma), III. Varāha (No. 16), IV. Narasiṁha (No. 17), V. Vāmanadeha—Trivikrama (Nos. 29-30), VI. Paraśurāma (No 35), VII. Rāghava Rāma (No. 36), VIII. Ananta (No. 3. Schraeder remarks, 'Ananta is not the serpent Śeṣa but Balarāma, the brother of Kriṣṇa, who is sometimes regarded as an incarnation of Śeṣa rather

[2] Schraeder thinks that the epithets *Vairāja* and *Satya-vrata* applied to Lokanātha in the *Ahirbudhnya* S. 35-6, point to Manu Vaivasvata, while Vāgīśvara and Śāntātman are really Hayagrīva and either Sanatkumāra (Sanaka) or Nārada respectively; but Lokanātha and Vāgīśvara are two well-known varieties of Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī Bodhisattvas respectively and Śāntātman or its synonymous epithets are applied to Buddha in many texts. The Bṛhatsaṁhitā says that the Śākyas only are declared to be the proper persons for the installation of the Buddha image (Śākyān sarvahitasya Śāntamanaso); while describing the image of Buddha the same text refers to him as *Prasannamūrti Padmāṅkitakaracaraṇaḥ prasannamūrtiḥ sunīca* (or *ta*) *keśaśca, Padmāsanopaviṣṭaḥ piteva jagato bhavati Buddhaḥ*). S. K. Saraswati has drawn my attention to the *Agni Purāṇa* passage (ch. 49, 8), where the very epithet Śāntātman is used (*Śāntātmā lamvakarṇaśca gaurāṅgaścāmbarāvṛtaḥ ūrdhapadmasthito Buddho varadābhayadāyakaḥ*).

than of Viṣṇu Himself), IX. Śāntātman (No. 25, Buddha) and X. Kalkin (No. 38).[3]

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[3] Schraeder observes that the list of 39 Avatāras occurring in one of the very oldest Saṁhitās (*Sātvata*) is older than the smaller list, found in later Saṁhitās and older even than the Mahābhārata and Nārāyaṇīya lists, which appear to be mere selections. The *Ahirbudhnya* S. distinguishes between primary (*mukhya*) and secondary (*gauṇa, āveśa*) Avatāras. The *Viśvaksena Saṁhitā* further explains this by saying that the primary Avatāras are like flames springing from a flame, *i.e.*, Viṣṇu Himself with Aprākṛta body, while a secondary *Avatāra* is a soul in bondage with a Prākṛta body which is possessed (*āviṣṭā*) for some particular mission or function, by the *śakti* of Viṣṇu. It enumerates as *gauṇa avatāras*: Brahman, Śiva, Buddha, Vyāsa, Arjuna, Paraśurāma, the Vasu called Pāvaka, and Kuvera, the god of riches. The text further informs us that all the Avatāras spring from Aniruddha either directly or indirectly, and they are not confined to human and animal forms only, but vegetable kingdom is sometimes chosen, (e.g., the crooked mango tree in the Daṇḍaka-vana) and the images of the God and his various forms also are regarded as his Avatāras. The Arccā Avatāras are exhaustively treated in this Pāñcarātra text.

SHAIKH SALIM CHISHTĪ, THE SHAIKH-UL-ISLAM OF FATHPUR SIKRĪ

BY

S. K. BANERJI, M.A., D.LITT.,
Lucknow University.

Shaikh Salīm Chishtī occupies a distinguished place among the Muslim saints of mediaeval India, honoured as he is both by the Muslims and the Hindus all over the country. He is noted not only for his piety and austere asceticism but also for the ready aid that he rendered to Akbar in diverse ways.

Born at Sikrī in 884 A.H. (1479-80 A.D.) of a common soldier belonging to the family of Shaikh Farīduddīn Masūd Ganj-Shakar, Salīm was the eighth descendant from his equally illustrious ancestor. Salīm was noted for his austerity[1] and devotion and for prolonged periods was engaged in observing fasts and prayers. After his initiation into spiritualism by the renowned philosopher of the day, Khwāja Ibrāhīm, the Shaikh settled down in the bleak hills of Sikrī for the rest of his life. But he more than once undertook travels to the Muslim countries of Syria, Iraq and Arabia, performed twentytwo pilgrimages and stayed at Mecca for fifteen years at a stretch and for four years at Madina and there he had become such a familiar figure and his learning and piety made such a deep impression among the Arabs that they earned for him the title of the Shaikh of Hind. In India his spiritual jurisdiction lay in the region of Sikrī where he had taken up his residence and while there he was reverenced for his spiritual instructions by the peasant as well as the king.

[1] According to Badāūnī, he wore the scantiest clothes in the coldest weather of Sikrī.

Among the latter may be mentioned Sher Shah, Islam Shah and their distinguished nobleman, Khawās Khan. He was generous by disposition and gave shelter to Shaikh Mubārak, 'Abul Fazl's father, when he was fleeing from the orthodox maulavīs without subscribing to his *Mahdavī* views.

To 'Akbar he rendered inestimable services. Not only were the emperor's sons, Salīm[2] and Murād, born under his shelter but he let him found his Dār-ul-Khilāfat in his neighbourhood.

As an illustration of his cordial relation with the emperor it may be mentioned that before building his own palaces at the new capital, the latter stayed with the saint,[3] probably in the monastery built by the latter after his return from abroad in 1563-4. When Akbar decided on the foundation of a new city at Sikrī, he undertook first of all the repair of the existing monastery and then the construction of another and the foundation of the magnificent Jami Masjid.[4]

Akbar's intimacy had grown deeper in the years following his first meeting with the saint and the latter, out of love for his royal disciple and friend, went out of his way to stand in the row of the nobles to welcome the emperor on his return to Sikrī from tours,[5] and allowed him ' to have *antrée* of all his most private apartments' in spite of inconvenience to his children who kept on complaining that 'their wives were getting estranged from them.' 'The Shaikh took no notice of the complaints, rebuked his

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[2] When Akbar released all the state prisoners. See Bad., II, 124.

[3] *A. N.* II.

[4] The date of foundation, 979 A.H. (1571-2) is given by the chronogram, ثانی المسجد الحرام

[5] For an illustration see *A. N.* III, 54, though the date seems incorrect.

children and roundly told them to seek other wives 'for there were no dearth of women'. Badāūnī, ever hostile to Akbar, makes no clear mention of any misuse by him of the confidence reposed in him by the Shaikh and we may presume that the complaints were due to mere suspicions of the jealous husbands.[6]

The saint rendered aid to Akbar in another direction. Being sufistic in his utterances and used to preach to the Hindu populace around him, he inspired a spirit of tolerance somewhat rare in mediaeval India. So when Akbar after the removal of his capital reorganized the administration and formulated a new ideal in politics and religion, viz., impartial treatment for all classes and communities, Shaikh Salīm supported it and though he died within a few years of his first contact with the king, his khalīfa or sajjādanashīn and other Chishtīwals continued to tread in his footsteps.[7]

In his gratitude for the birth of his two eldest sons and in his regard for the Shaikh, Akbar built in the neighbourhood of the Chishtī monastery, the Jami Masjid. It is one of the most spacious mosques in the east and measures externally exclusive of the bastions at the north and south ends, 542′ from east to west and 438′ from north to south; the courtyard is 439′ × 360′ being surrounded by spacious cloisters 38′ in depth; and the *liwān* 288′ by 65′. The principal entrance to the *liwān* and the two gateways, the Badshahi and the Baland *darwāzas*, are noble adjuncts. The following is inscribed on the chief portal of the *liwān* :

در زمان شه جهان اکبر * که از و ملك را نظام آمد
شیخ الاسلام مسجدے آراست * کزصفا کعبه احترام آمد
سال اتمام ایں بنای رفیع * ثانی المسجدالحرام آمد ۹۸۹

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[6] *Bad.* II. 113.

[7] The Chishtīwals were the firm supporters of Jahangir also.

'In the reign of the monarch, Akbar
Who laid the foundations of the state
The Shaikh-ul-Islam set out a masjid
Which was as chaste as the revered Kaba[8]
The year of the completion of his lofty edifice
Is found in the words, "the second sacred mosque"[9]

Three inaccuracies may be noticed in the inscription. First, it wrongly states that the Shaikh was the founder of the mosque. It is so spacious and lofty that one is inclined to credit the great emperor who doted on the Shaikh with supplying the resources for its construction, the Shaikh's duties being confined to the superintendence of the work. The second inaccuracy lies in the assignment of the date of completion to the year 979 A.H.[10] We are inclined to agree with Badāūnī[11] that the masjid took five years to complete and so if its foundations were laid immediately after the birth of prince Salīm in August, 1569, its completion took place not before the year, 1574. The date 979 A.H., indicates the latest year of the Shaikh's association with the building. The third inaccuracy consists in the statement that makes it a copy of the Kaba, for actually it is not so, there being no central black stone here, while many innovations and imitations of the indigenous style of architecture are noticeable in the newly constructed edifice. The mosque is internally superbly decorated and colour has been copiously applied, the features more usually associated with Hindu temples or Irānī buildings.

To Akbar's ill luck, the Shaikh died in February, 1572, soon after the emperor's settlement in hie new capital and all that was left to his royal admirer was to erect a suitable memorial on his tomb. Since the Shaikh was

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[8] The chief mosque of Mecca.

[9] The Kaba is also called the Masjid-ul-harām.

[10] 1571-2 A.D.

[11] Vol. II, 112.

buried in the courtyard of the mosque, there were strict limitations to the ideas of loftiness or the assignment of a large space to the new work; for the masjid must not look dwarfed and most of the courtyard should be made available to the Muslim votaries for their prayer. So what Akbar did was to erect a mausoleum of a very moderate size, 59′ square, the mortuary chamber being only 24′ surrounded by a perambulatory but made it so exquisitely elegant that it forms today one of the most sumptuous illustrations of the Mughal architecture. It looks pearly white, being either built in marble or white cement and as elsewhere, Akbar embellished the chamber with floral decorations in colour and provided the tomb with a wooden canopy worked in ebony, the mother-of-pearl pieces being kept in their places by thin copper wires. The perambulatory is enclosed on all sides by trellised marble screens some of which are entire pieces and in size $5' \times 6'$.

There are several inscriptions of which we shall choose four, one in Persian, and three in Arabic. The one in Persian reads thus:

مغیث ملت و پیر طریق شیخ سلیم
که درکرامت قربت جنید وطیفورست

منورست ازو شمع خانوادهٔ چشت
فرید گنج شکر را خلف ترین پورست

دوبین مباش زخود فانی و بحق باقی
که سال رحلتش اندر زمان مشهورست

سنه ۹۸۹ هجری -

'Shaikh Salīm, the aid to the faith and the guide to the path,

Who is a Taifūr and Junaid in excellence[12] and nearness to God;

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[12] It also means glory of miracle.

Illumined by him is the candle of the Chishtī family;
To Farīd Ganj-i-shakar he was the most distinguished descendant[13]

Do not be squint-eyed.[14] Efface thyself for then thou wilt submit everlastingly in God.[15]

The year of the Shaikh's death is well-known throughout the world.

The Arabic passages are:

قال الله تعالى ان الذين آمنو وعملو الصالحات كانت لهم
جنات الفردوس نذلا خالدين فيها لايبغون عنها حولا

'Allah says: those who have believed and done virtuous acts, the gardens of paradise shall be their meed, wherein shall they dwell for ever and seek not to leave them.[16]

اللهم انت السلام ومنك السلام و اليك يعود السلام حينا ربنا
بالسلام و ادخلنا دار السلام تباركت ربنا وتعاليت يا ذو الجلال
و الاكرام

('O my Allah, thou art the salām; from thee is the salām and it returns to thee. Greet us, O Lord with the salām. Admit us now, our preserver to the abode of the salām. The lord of majesty and beneficence, thou art raised and exalted.'[17]

ثبت اقدامنا و انصرنا على القوم الكافرين - ربنا انجزنا ماوعدتنا
على رسلك

'Make firm our feet and help us against the unbelievers. Our Lord fulfil that which thou promised through thy messengers.'

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[13] Lit. 'son'.

[14] *I.e.*, a hypocrite.

[15] The year of the Shaikh's death is to be obtained from the hemistich.

[16] The passage is taken from the Quran.

[17] Often read at the end of the regular prayers

The following observations may be made on the above inscriptions:

1. God has been glorified and it is possible that Akbar's monotheism originated from the utterances of the saint, his successors and the other Chishtīwāls.

2. In the third Arabic inscription the success of the sufis over the non-sufis has been mentioned. Since the quotation is from the Qurān and put up on the walls after the death of the saint, he need not be associated with any idea of bigotry or of separating the different types of worshippers; for otherwise, the admiring Akbar would not have approved of the verses. What the quotation condemns is the deification of anybody or any thing else but God. To Akbar even the exaltation of Muhammad was unnecessary.

3. There is a mention of the main theme of the sufi that he is a part of the divinity itself and that all lesser material ideals are to be dropped. The goal was to be the search of truth and immersion of oneself in the ocean of reality.

4. 'Salām' is a significant word in Islamic theology and has been repeated in innumerable phrases.[18] The main ideas of Islam seem to be (1) the obedience to God and (2) the introduction of peaceful conditions among the warring Arabs and both these ideas are conveyed by the word 'salām'. The insistence of peace is a significant message of Islam.

Thirty years later Akbar built the Baland Darwāza, the south gate to the Jami masjid. Its central wooden doors at the back of the portal has many horse and cattle shoes fixed to them, some of the shoes being the contribution of the wealthier classes of the country. The saint is

[18] Even the name of the religion of Arabia is indicated by a modified form of the word.

adored by all classes of the Muslims and Hindus and supplications made to him for intercession are of miscellaneous character. While the major requests are made at the tomb, the poor people when asking for the cure of their animals put up these iron shoes[19] at the doors and thus the latter have acquired some sort of sanctity. The Shaikh's influence is still believed to be all-pervading in character and the meanest being of Fathpur-Sikri is not outside the pale of his benediction.

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[19] Some of the magnates of the country have offered silver horse shoes.

SAPTĀṄGA-SUPRATIṢṬHITA

BY

P. V. BAPAT, M.A., D.LITT.

"इति ह बोधिसत्त्वो हस्त्याजानेयान् ददानः सप्ताङ्गसुप्रतिष्ठितान् षष्टिहाय-नान्........."

This passage is taken from Śikṣā-samuccaya (pp. 27-28 of the text edited by Cecil Bendall in Bib. Buddhica Series, 1902). The English rendering of the passage as given by Bendall & Rouse (Indian Texts Series, 1922, p. 30) is :—

> "And so the Bodhisattva giving the thoro-bred (? thorough-bred) elephants strongly grown in their seven parts, of sixty years . . ."

Here the expression 'strongly grown in seven parts' seems to have been given as the translation of the original expression *saptāṅga-supratiṣṭhitān.*

Lalitavistara (Bibliotheca Indica Series, edited by Rajendralal Mitra), Chap. III, p. 17, also, while describing the Elephant-Treasure says :—

> हस्तिरत्नमुत्पद्यते । सर्वश्वेतं सप्ताङ्गं सुप्रतिष्ठितं स्वर्णचूडकं......... etc.

The rendering of the same as given in the English Translation of that book (p. 30) is :—

> "A white elephant, sound in wind (? mind) and limb, of docile temper, ...".

(2) This word used in the description of noble elephants is often found in the Buddhist texts. With this, may be compared the Pali word *sattappatiṭṭho* in Dīghanikāya, Vol. ii. p. 174 (Mahāsudassana-sutta, part i. para. 12) where it is used in the description of a mythical elephant, Uposatha-Nāgarāja. Milindapañha (p. 276 of the

Devanāgarī edition by Prof. R. D. Vadekar, Trenckner's ed., p. 282) also uses the word in a similar context. Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga, Chap. XXI, para. 43 (Devanāgarī edition by Prof. D. Kosambi, Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavana Series, No. 1) also uses the word in the description of a six-tusked elephant (*Chaddanto Nāgarāja*).

(3) Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the passage from Dīghanikāya does not explain the word. The context also does not help us in any of the passages referred to above. Rhys Davids (Dialogues of the Buddha, part ii. p. 204; also in Buddhist Suttas, S.B.E. vol. xi. p. 254) translates the word as 'seven-fold firm', and adds the following note:—

> "*Sattappatiṭṭho*, that is, perhaps, in regard to its four legs, two tusks and trunk. The expression is curious and Buddhaghosa has no note upon it. It is quite possible that it merely signifies 'exceeding firm', the number seven being used without any hard and fast interpretation."

In the translation of this word in the Milinda-pañha, also, Rhys Davids gives the same rendering and adds the note:—

> "The Sinhalese merely repeats this ambiguous word." (Questions of King Milinda, S.B.E. vol. 36, p. 128).

Thus it will be seen that the interpretation of the word as given by him is merely conjectural, in which an attempt seems to have been made to keep close to the etymological interpretation as far as possible.

(4) Let us see whether there are any other sources which would throw light on this word. The Chinese version of the Mahaparinibbāṇa-sutta contains a passage which corresponds to that from Mahāsudassaṇa-sutta re-

ferred to above (para. 2). This passage does contain an exact rendering of the word in the Pali text, *sattappatiṭṭho.*

	七	處	平	住
	Ch'i	Ch'u	p'ing	Chu
Radical No. & strokes	1+1	141+5	51+2	9+5
meaning	seven	places points	level even	placed

The Chinese expression means 'placed or established on the level (ground) at seven places; that is to say, touching the ground at seven points, or with seven parts of the body. This Chinese translation of the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra in the Dīrghāgama (Taisho ed. vol. 1, 112a, col. 6; bold letter edition, 3.20a, 7) has been made by Buddhayaśas (412-13 A.D.) of the latter Tshin dynasty (384—417 A.D.) and corresponds to the above-mentioned Mahāparinibbāṇa-sutta in the Dīgha-nikāya. This earlier interpretation deserves, therefore, every credence, especially if it is supported by any later evidences.

The Tibetan translation of this word as given in Mahāvyutpatti is quite literal :

यन् लग्	बदुन्	लेगस् पर्	गनस् प
ran-lag	bdun	legs-par	gnas-pa
limbs	seven	well	placed
aṅga	sapta-	su-	pratiṣṭhita

although the Chinese rendering as given there is rather loose, and does not exactly bring out the idea of the word प्रतिष्ठित in the original expression. It is :—

七	支	全	好
Ch'i	Chih	Ch'üan	Hao
1+1	65	11+4	38+3
seven	parts	perfect	good

The last two characters, it will be seen, give a general interpretation which is remote from the original. This is a far later interpretation given by Fa-yun (1151 A.D.) under the southern Sun dynasty (A.D. 1127—1368), and may not, therefore, be relied upon. To this interpretation comes closer the interpretation given by Bendall and Rouse.

(5) There is an authoritative explanation, supporting the Chinese interpretation, and, further, specifying the parts touching ground. Dhammapāla, while commenting upon the word in the Visuddhimagga referred to above, says in Paramattha-Mañjūsā (Mundyne Pitaka Press, vol. ii. p. 837; Zabu Meit Swe Press, 1913, ii. p. 376; Siam. ed. iii. p. 544) :—

हत्थ-पाद-वाल-वत्थिकोसेहि भूमिफुसनेहि सत्तहि पतिट्ठितो ति सत्तपतिट्ठो

"*Satta-patiṭṭho* (which is obviously another variant of *Sattappatiṭṭho*) means firmly grounded at seven points, i.e., touching the ground with seven (limbs) : trunk, (four) legs, tail (for this meaning of *vāla* or *bāla*, see Vācaspatya : *aśva-vāladhau, hasti-vāladhau, nārikele, paśu-pucche ca*) and the male sexual organ encased in the sheath."

This explanation is further supported by Abhaya-deva's Sanskrit Commentary (11th cen. A.D.) on a Jain Prakrit text which describes an elephant (*hatthi-rūvaṃ*) as *sattañga-paiṭṭhiyaṃ, sammaṃ, saṇṭhiyaṃ, sujāyaṃ,* . . . etc. The Commentary explains *sattaṅga-paiṭṭhiyaṃ* thus :—

सप्ताङ्गानि—चत्वारः पादाः करं पुच्छं शिश्नं चेति । एतानि प्रतिष्ठितानि भूमौ लग्नानि यस्य तत्तथा ।

(p. 39 of the Commentary on Uvāsaga-dasāo, edited by Hoernle, Calcutta, 1888; Prof. P. L. Vaidya's edition of Uvāsaga-dasāo, pp. 235-236).

"*Saptāṅgāni*, seven parts, i.e., four legs, trunk, tail and the male organ."

It will be seen that this explanation exactly agrees with that given by Dhammapāla. Both these sources specify the seven parts which touch the ground, although in earlier sources we noticed that there was no explanation by way of specification of the seven parts. In early days there was, perhaps, thought to be no need of specifying them as till the time of the Chinese translation or till the time of Buddhaghosa, the word must have been quite clear without this specification.

(6) There is another expression which may be cited by way of analogy. In Pali commentaries, at numerous places, we come across the expression *pañca-patiṭṭhitena vanditvā* (Dhammasangaṇi-Commentary, Aṭṭhasālinī, edited in Devanāgarī characters, in the Bhandarkar Oriental Series, No. 3; p. 60, para. 56; SnA. 267, 271, 293, 328, 436; DhA. 1. 197, i. iv. 178), although we rarely find in any of these passages, any specification of the five parts referred to in that phrase. The expression was, it seems, quite obvious to the people at that time. It is only from other later sources that we come to know that the five parts that are intended are: two legs, two hands and the head (See the Prakrit passage quoted from Abhidhāna-Rājendra in the foot-note on that expression (p. 60) in the Dhammasangaṇi-Commentary; also Tibetan-English Dictionary of Das, 1902, p. 1128). The expression means a form of salutation in which five parts of the body are placed on the ground. Our expression here simply reads *satta* instead of *pañca*.

We may as well compare another Pali compound-word *suppatiṭṭhita-pāda* (Dīgh. ii. 17, i.e., Mahapadanasutta i. 32) 'with foot well-planted on the ground'. This is one of the thirty-two signs of a Great Man. Here, also, it is quite obvious that the word *suppatiṭṭhita* is to be under-

stood in the sense of 'well-placed', 'well-planted', 'well-established.'

(7) Thus it will be seen that the enigmatic word *saptāṅga-supratiṣṭhita* has a close parallel in Pali and Jain Prakrit, *sattappatiṭṭha* or *sattaṅga-paiṭṭhyia* and that the commentaries on these texts come to our help for the explanation of this word which, as we have seen above, has been a great riddle to some scholars. When we have the Chinese rendering of the early fifth century supported and further explained by a Pali Commentary of approximately the seventh[1] century, and further confirmed by another commentary, of about the eleventh[2] century A.D., on a Prakrit text, from an altogether different source like that of the Jain tradition, we must say that the interpretations given by Bendall and Rouse, or by Rajendralal Mitra or by Prof. Rhys Davids (who is merely giving it as a conjecture) seem to be far from correct.[3]

(8) Of the seven parts which are explained to be touching the ground, five—the four legs and the trunk—are undebatable. We all see these parts touching the ground, and no one need entertain any doubts about them. With regard to the rest, we shall have to strain our imagination, a little bit.

Mātaṅgalīlā, chap. iii. stanza 2, mentions shortness of the tail and of the male organ as a sign of inferiority. Naturally, we infer that the long tail and the long organ were considered as very favourable signs. Mātaṅgalīlā, ii. 3, (स्थूलर्ज्वायतचारुवालधिकरः) Mānasollāsa (Gaekwad Oriental Series) vol. i. 2. 61 (वालधिश्चायतः कृशः) vol. ii. iv. 211, 218 :

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[1] See my book "Vimuttimagga & Visuddhimagga: A Comparative Study", Poona 1937, Introduction p. 1-li.

[2] "Geschichte der Indischen Literatur" by Dr. M. Winternitz, Aweiter Band, pp. 3181, 342.

[3] Pe Maug Tin gives a correct translation:—'With seven limbs touching the earth'. (Path of Purity, part iii. p. 795.).

······ ··दीर्घाणि शीर्षं पृष्ठं च वालधिः ॥२११॥
वालधिः पृष्ठवंशश्च चिबुकं हस्त एव च ।
भवन्त्येतानि दीर्घाणि लम्बते मेढ्कोशकम् ॥२१८॥

—all these passages praise long tails. This is further confirmed by representations of an elephant in sculpture and painting. See tails of elephants in the photographic reproduction, given in Sir John Marshall's "Guide to Sanchi," plate V a facing page 50; or in A. Coomarswamy's "Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism", plate H facing p. 68; or in "Buddhist Art" by Vogel, translated into English by A. J. Barnouw (Oxford, 1936), plate 17; or in the Marathi book on Ajanthā by His Highness Shrīmanta Bhavanrao Pant Pratinidhi of Aundha, picture No. 37 facing p. 60. All these places show that they are very long and some of them (as in Sanchi Plate) stop short, by a very small margin, of touching the ground.

Edgerton in his book "Elephant Lore of the Hindus" (Translation of Mātangalīlā quoted above), p. 55, footnote, quotes a line from a Tanjore Manuscript on elephantology :—

आभूमिदीर्घऋजुवृत्तसुरोमवाला

which, apparently, describes the elephants with tails long

[4] As against this, however, Śukranīti, Chap. IV, section vii, 64—67 (English translation by Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar in the Sacred Books of the Hindus, vol. viii, 1914) considers those elephants harmful, 'whose tails touch and sweep the ground.' The original passage as given on p. 176 of a Devanāgarī edition printed, with Hindi rendering, in Shri Venkaṭesh Steam Press, Bombay, is:—

दीर्घद्वेषी क्रूरमदस्तथापृष्ठविधूनकः ।
दशाष्टोननखो मन्दो भूमिशोधनपुच्छकः ॥८९५॥
एवं विधोऽनिष्टगजो विपरीतः शुभावहः ।
..................................॥८९६॥

This, perhaps, simply means that it should not be *excessively* long so as to *sweep* the ground.

Also see हस्तिविज्ञान (in Marathi, p. 52) by M. M. Joshi, Baroda, 1910, which agrees with शुक्रनीति.

enough to reach the earth,[4] straight, round and with fine hair.

(9) As regards the last, the male organ of the elephant, it has been often described as encased in a sheath (*kośa*; see Mātangalīlā, ii. 2, 6; Mānasollāsa, vol. ii. 218 reproduced above Dhammapāla's comment quoted above para. 5). Ordinarily it should remain invisible. An elephant with visible testes is considered to be inauspicious (Mātañgalīlā, iii. 3). This characteristic of the male organ being encased in a sheath is peculiar to Great Men and it is also mentioned among the thirty-two signs of Great Men (Dīgha. ii. 17, *i.e.*, Mahāpadāna-sutta, i, 32) and of the Buddha, in particular (See Dīgh, Ambaṭṭhasutta, 2. 11-12). It is no wonder if a mythical elephant, or an elephant of an ideal type is described to have this characteristic, still having infinite potential capacity. Mātangalīlā describes some characteristics in this connection (ii. 4, 6).

THE ARTHAŚĀSTRA : A BLEND OF OLD AND NEW

BY

B. M. BARUA, M.A., D.LITT.,

University of Calcutta.

The discovery of the manuscript of the Arthaśāstra by Dr. Shama Sastri was no less startling to the Indologists than that of America by Columbus to the people of Europe. The publication of the text and translation of the Arthaśāstra by Dr. Shama Sastri was preceded by that of the Buddhist India, an epoch-making work in which the late Professor Rhys Davids tried with consummate skill to remove and rectify many erroneous notions that had gained ground in the West about the nature and character of ancient Indian life and civilisation. The new evidence supplied from early Buddhist and Jaina texts and inscriptions lacked confirmation in Brahmanical literature. It was at this juncture that Dr. Shama Sastri made the text and contents of the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra known to the world. This important Sanskrit treatise went at once to show that India's advancement in the past was not only on the side of things spiritual but on that of things secular as well. The two works, Buddhist India and Arthaśāstra, combined to call for a new form of vigorous activity in the field of Indological research.

But at the very outset the question arose as to the actual date of compilation of the treatise as we now have it, and no less as to the age to which its evidence is applicable. And on this question the scholars became sharply divided into two camps, one led by Dr. Shama Sastri and the other by the late Dr. Jolly who was the

greatest known authority in Europe on the ancient legal literature of India. The former stood as the champion for the traditional date of the Arthaśāstra which is claimed to be a work of Kauṭilya-Chāṇakya, the shrewd Brahmin political adviser of Chandragupta Maurya. The latter proposed a date, which is not only post-Christian but post-Kushāṇa.

Each school went on gathering its strength and found veterans to espouse its cause. Among the Western Indologists, the late Dr. Jacobi of Bonn with his orthodox leanings was the first to enlist his strong support on the side of Sastri, and he was followed in quick succession by the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, the late Pandit Ganapati Sastri, and Dr. N. N. Law. Dr. Bernhard Bueloer, author of the *Kauṭilīya Studien, I Das Grudeigentum in Indien* (1927) and *II Altindisches Privaterecht bei Megasthenes and Kauṭilya* (1928), is the second great supporter of the orthodox view from the school of Bonn, while Dr. Narayanchandra Bandopadhyaya figures among the Indian scholars as the last defender of the school of Shama Sastri.

As regards the rival school, after Dr. Jolly stand the powerful names of Dr. Schmidt and Dr. Winternitz whose arguments are summarised in the Introduction to the edition of Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra in the Punjab Sanskrit Series. The same are summarised also in Dr. Shama Sastri's Preface to the third edition of his translation of the Arthaśāstra, Dr. N. N. Law's Essays on Indian History and Culture and Dr. Bandopadhyaya's Development of Hindu Polity and Political Theories, Bk. VII, for the purposes of rejoinder and refutation.

When the world of controversy seemed lulled into sleep over the vexed question, Dr. (then Mr.) Atindranath Bose sought to reopen it by his thought-provoking article "On the Date of Kauṭilya," published in the Indian Culture, Vol. IV, contending in it for a post-Christian date,

In advancing his arguments, Dr. Bose incoporated some of my data bearing on the point at issue. The same matter has received further consideration from me in connection with my work on Aśoka's Inscriptions (now in the press). The Arthaśāstra which in its extant form combines a Nītiśāstra, an Arthaśāstra and a Dharmaśāstra into a single scheme of literary treatment of the subject of royal polity, shows a blending of things older and later. Although it is the work of a single author, it incorporates and utilises many earlier literary traditions. It seems probable that there was a pre-Aśokan form of the treatise, which was considerably modified later. The literary method and other internal evidences, examined and relied upon in the present article, go to connect the treatise with those works in Pali, Sanskrit and Prakrit that cannot be dated earlier than the 1st century B.C. Here is just an attempt to indicate how to distinguish between the pre-Aśokan and post-Aśokan elements that enter into the composition of the Arthaśāstra as a prose treatise.

In a verse appended to the extant text of the Arthaśāstra, the Sūtra-bhāshya treatise is claimed to be a work of Vishṇugupta, while the system of polity which it presents and upholds is ascribed to Kauṭilya. In the body of the work the views of other teachers and schools are cited only to make them suffer on comparison and contrast with those of Kauṭilya. Kāmandaka in his Nītisāra, which is professedly a poetical summary of Vishṇugupta's treatise, describes Vishṇugupta as the powerful man who acted as a thunderbolt by which the Nandas fell down, root and branch, and the earth passed on to Chandragupta, and pays compliments to him as a highly gifted person who churned the nectar of the science of polity from the ocean of political science :

नीतिशास्त्रामृतं धीमानर्थशास्त्रमहोदधेः ।

Daṇḍī, too, in his Daśakumāracharita (II. 8) ascribes the extant treatise to Vishṇugupta, stating that he compiled it, abridging it into 6,000 *ślokas*, in the interests of the Maurya king

विष्णुगुप्तेन मौर्यार्थे षड्भिः श्लोकसहस्रैस्संक्षिप्ता ।

Daṇḍī, however, ought not to have said what he said concerning Vishṇugupta, inasmuch as Vishṇugupta is kept altogether out of the show in the body of the work. There is no suggestion as to the compilation of the treatise in the interest of a Maurya king. In the *śloka* at the end of Ch. I of Bk. I, Kauṭilya is said to have compiled the treatise or propounded the system, bereft of undue enlargement:

कौटिल्येन कृतं शास्त्रं विमुक्त ग्रन्थ विस्तरम् ।

Secondly, in the *śloka* at the end of Ch. 10 of Bk. II, we are told that Kauṭilya laid down the rules of writing royal writs in the interest of the king or kings:

कौटिल्येन नरेन्द्रार्थे शासनस्य विधिः कृतः ।

And thirdly, in the *śloka* at the end of the last chapter of the Arthaśāstra, the author of the treatise is claimed as a person who rescued the earth from a Nanda king:

येन शास्त्रं च शस्त्रं च नन्दराजगता च भूः ।
अमर्षेणोद्धृतान्याशु तेन शास्त्रमिदं कृतम् ॥

These *ślokas* cannot, on the face of them, be regarded as compositions of Kauṭilya himself. They were obviously composed and added by a later author who wanted to revere Kauṭilya as the putative author of the treatise and the original propounder of the system of polity which the extant work embodies and expounds.

In the absence of any mention of Chandragupta Maurya in the Arthaśāstra, it is still an open question as to who this Nanda king was, whether the powerful Nanda predecessor of Chandragupta Maurya or the Nanda

king who opened an aqueduct not far from the then known capital of Kalinga, 300 or 103 years previous to the 5th year of the reign of Khāravela.

Kāmandaka, too, was not justified in bringing in Chandragupta Maurya in the absence of a reference to him in the Arthaśāstra itself. In the concluding verse of Ch. 10 of Bk. II, it is indeed said: Kauṭilya in the interest of *narendra*, a word, which may be taken to mean either a particular king or kings generally. Thus from this we cannot definitely derive an internal evidence to prove that Kauṭilya compiled the Arthaśāstra for the sake of the Maurya king Chandragupta.

Kauṭilya, the rescuer of the earth from the Nanda king, passed as Chāṇakya of keen intellect in later Indian traditions, while the Arthaśāstra passed as Kauṭilyam in the Jaina Nandisūtra and Anuyogadvāra and as Kauṭilya-śāstram in Bāṇa's Kādambarī. The association of Chāṇakya with Chandragupta Maurya as his shrewd Brahmin political adviser is not to be found yet in any earlier Pali or Sanskrit work other than the Mahāvaṃsa, V. 6.

It is very strange indeed that Bhaṭṭotpala, the author of a commentary on Varāhamihira's Bṛihajjātaka, has in one context represented Vishṇugupta and Chāṇakya as two persons, and in another, as one person (Shama Sastri's Transl., p. xviii). But as Dr. Sastri has rightly pointed out, Varāhamihira (Bṛihatsaṃhita, II. 4) wrongly ascribes to Vishṇugupta a verse advocating superstitious reliance on the influence of the planets, which neither occurs in the Arthaśāstra nor can occur in it on the face of its emphatic deprecation of such reliance (ix. 4):

नक्षत्रमतिपृच्छन्तं बालमर्थोऽतिवर्तते ।

Varāhamihira credits Vishṇugupta also with a knowledge of the *Rāśis* (Signs of the Zodiac), which, too, is not borne out by the Arthaśāstra. Thus Varāhamihira's

F. 12

Vishṇugupta must have been fictitious or real Vishṇugupta other than one to which the extant Sūtra-bhāshya treatise of the Arthaśāstra has been ascribed.

At the close of Ch. I of Bk. I of the extant Arthaśāstra, we are told that the treatise consists of 15 books (*adhikaraṇāni*), 150 chapters (*adhyāyas*), 180 sections (*prakaraṇas*), and 6,000 verses (*ślokas*). And we may note here that Vishṇugupta's treatise, as known to Daṇḍi, was constituted of 6,000 *ślokas*. The extant text contains 15 books, 150 chapters, and 180 sections. As for the statement concerning 6,000 *ślokas*, the text is far from justifying it, if the word *śloka* means a verse, particularly a verse in *anushṭubh* or *śloka* metre. One may point out that the word *śloka* need not be taken strictly in the sense of a verse or metrical stanza since it may mean as well just a unit of measurement made up of 32 letters or syllables and applicable to all kinds of texts in prose or verse or even in mixed prose and verse. If the statement applies to the extant treatise which is mainly a prose work, one cannot seek to justify it otherwise than by this mechanical meaning of the word *śloka*. But even here the text as we now have it in Dr. Shama Sastri's edition fails to satisfy us inasmuch as no number of syllables, counted on the average of 11 *ślokas* per printed page (429·11=4,719) is below 5,000, and in no circumstances can it exceed 5,000 in round figures. If the statement represents a real state of things, we have got to presume either that there was an earlier form of the treatise constituted of 6,000 verses or that certain passages are missing from the text as preserved to us in the available manuscripts.

The *Sūtra* and *Bhāshya* as two terms of internal distinction of passages are foreign to the text of the Arthaśāstra. Avowedly the treatise is one which is written strictly in accordance with the *tantrayukti*, "the plan of

a treatise," better textual and exegetical methodology, defined and illustrated in its concluding chapter. This methodology contemplates a distinction not between the *sūtra* and the *bhāshya* but between the *samuddeśa*, the *nirdeśa*, and the *vyākhyāna*. The opening chapter contains the *prakaraṇasamuddeśa*, table of contents, list of topics discussed or enumeration of chapter-headings. As such, Kauṭilya's *prakaraṇasamuddeśa* corresponds to the *mātikā* of the Pali Abhidhamma treatises and the *uddesa-vāra* of the Pali Netti-pakaraṇa. All that follows is the *nirdeśa*, elucidation or elaboration of the theses thus set out. But even in the *nirdeśa* part, each chapter contains *samuddeśa* (proposition or statement of the subject-matter), *nirdeśa* (definition or elucidation of the subject matter proposed) and not unfrequently *vyākhyāna* or amplified *nirdeśa*, which corresponds to the *paṭiniddesa* of the Netti-pakaraṇa. Thus like the Netti, the extant treatise of the Arthaśāstra follows a progressive plan of treatment of subject-matters, whereas the Pali Abhidhamma treatises stop short at *nirdeśa* or *vibhaṅga*.

It is to be seen whether the *anushṭubh* verses with which each chapter is invariably concluded and which in certain instances are cited as authoritative also in the middle of a chapter were later additions or belonged to an earlier Kārikā. Apparently all of them cannot be referred to any earlier source or sources, particularly those ascribing the treatise to Kautilya in I. 1, II. 10 and XV. i, praising *ānvīkshakī* in I. 2, and describing the literary method of the treatise(एवं शास्त्रमिदं युक्तमेताभिस्तंत्र युक्तिभिः) in XV. 1. But there are a great many of them that are cited as traditional *nīti-vākyas* or words of wisdom in verse-forms. It would seem that many of the *anushṭubh* verses are presupposed by the prose text and compel us even to presume that they belonged to an earlier form of the Arthaśāstra. The Rājadharmaparva section of the Śāntiparva of

the Mahābhārata which is presupposed in respect of its many adages by the edicts of Aśoka as well as the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya offers us a complete text of royal polity in the form of a Kārikā of *anushṭubh* verses. And one may wonder if the extant prose treatise of the Arthaśāstra was based upon a similar Nīti work in verse,—an earlier Kārikā of 6,000 *ślokas*. But it is equally possible that the ancient *anushṭubh* verses formed component parts of an earlier prose work as typified by the prose portions of the Bhelasaṃhitā that still survives. To give an idea of earlier materials in the Arthaśāstra, it will be worth while to consider here first the literary and historical position of the *anushṭubh* verses minus those few which were palpably later additions.

It is easy to detect that many of the propositions or statements in the Arthaśāstra read as lines of different verses. Consider, for instance, the first prakaraṇa called *vidyā-samuddeśah* and discussed in four consecutive chapters (I-2-5). The proposition put forward from the point of view of Kauṭilya is—

आन्वीक्षिकी त्रयी वार्ता दण्डनीतिश्चेति विद्याः ।

This is evidently the first line of an *anushṭubh* verse. The second line, too, of the same verse is traceable in the proposition of the Mānava school, and it reads—

त्रयी वार्ता दण्डनीतिश्चेति मानवाः ।

Here just one syllable is wanting. But it may be easily supplied and the line may be read as—

त्रयी च वार्ता दण्डनीतिश्चेति मानवाः ।

This line reads in the Kāmandakīya Nītisāra as—

त्रयी वार्ता दण्डनीतिरिति विद्या हि मानवाः ।

The first and second lines of the next verse have been compressed into—

वार्ता दण्डनीतिश्चेति बार्हस्पत्याः ।
दण्डनीतिरेका विद्येत्यौशनसाः ॥

The three clauses: *dharmādharmau Trayyām*, *arthānarthau Vārtāyām*, and *nayanayau Daṇḍanītyām*, read, when put in a verse-form in the Kāmandakīya Nītisāra, II. 13, as—

.........धर्माधर्मौ त्रयीस्थितौ ।
अर्थानर्थौ तु वार्तायां दण्डनीत्यौ नयानयौ ॥

Turning to Ch. 6 of Bk. I, we find that its two concluding stanzas in *śloka* metre begin with the line—

एते चान्ये च बहवः शत्रुषड्वर्गमाश्रिताः ।

Leading to them is a statement, which an unwary reader is apt to take to be in prose. In reality, however, it consists in four stanzas in *trishṭubh* metre, incomplete, here and there, either for want of a few syllables or for want of a whole line, the stanzas by which a few earlier *anushṭubh* verses were remodelled and replaced. The *trishṭubh* stanzas, as made out, are:

यथा दाण्डक्यो नाम भोजः कामात् ब्राह्मण कन्यामभिमन्यमानः ।
सबन्धुराष्ट्रो विननाश करालश्च वैदेहः ॥
कोपाज्जनमेजयो ब्राह्मणेषु विक्रान्तः तालजंघश्च भृगुषु ।
लोभादैलश्चातुर्वर्ण्यमत्याहारयमानः सौवीरश्चाजबिन्दुः ॥
मानाद्रावणः परदारानप्रयच्छन् दुर्योधनो राज्यादंशं च ।
मदाद् डम्भोद्भवो.....................॥
भूतावमानी हैहयश्चार्जुनः ।
हर्षाद् वातापिरगस्त्यमत्यसादयन् वृष्णिसंघश्च द्वैपायनमिति ॥

In continuation of these, the two *anushṭubh* verses read—

एते चान्ये बहवः शत्रुषड्वर्गमाश्रिताः ।
सबन्धुराष्ट्रा राजानो विनेशुरजितेन्द्रियाः ॥
शत्रुषड्वर्गमुत्सृज्य जामदग्न्यो जितेंद्रियः ।
अम्बरीषश्च नाभागो बुभुजाते चिरं महीम् ॥

With the *trishṭubh* verses may be compared and contrasted the following Jātaka stanzas in the *trishṭubh*,

jagatī, *bṛihatī*, and *anushṭubh* metres, containing similar allusions : Sarabhaṅga J. (522) :

यथा अहु दंडकी नाडिकिरो
अथज्जुनो कलाबू चापि राजा ।
किसं पि वच्छमवकिरिय दंडकी
उच्छिन्नमूलो सजनो सरट्ठो ॥

Saṃkichcha J. (530) :

अरजं रजसा वच्छं किसमवकिरिय दंडकी ।
तालो व मूलतो छिन्नो स राजा विभवं गतो ॥
कण्ह दीपायनासज्ज इसिमन्धकवेण्हुयो ।
अञ्ञमञ्ञं मुसले हन्त्वा सम्पत्ता यमसादनं ॥

The Arthaśāstra allusions are all to parables in the Mahābhārata, the story of Rāvaṇa included (Bandopadhyaya, *op. cit.*, Bk. VII, p. 77).

The style of composition of the *anushṭubh* verses in the Arthaśāstra closely resembles that in the Pali Nikāyas and the Great Epic. Here the *ślokas* are of the *nīti* or didactic type, containing as they do the traditional words of wisdom with which the Great Epic and the Jātakas abound. So none need be astonished to find out the Pali counterpart of some of these verses in the Jātakas, and some in a Nīti-work like the Pañchatantra. One of such verses occurs also in Paṭañjali's Mahābhāshya (Shama Sastri, Transl., p. xxi). For the parallelism between the earlier Kārikā and the Jātakas, one may compare the following two stanzas, one from the Arthaśāstra, IX. 4 and the other from the Pali Nakkhatta Jātaka :

(*a*) नक्षत्रमतिपृच्छन्तं बालमर्थोऽतिवर्तते ।
अर्थो ह्यर्थस्य नक्षत्रं किं करिष्यन्ति तारकाः ॥
(*b*) नक्खत्तं पटिमानेन्तं अत्थो बालमुपच्चगा ।
अत्थो अत्थस्स नक्खत्तं किं करिस्सन्ति तारका ॥

In the Arthaśāstra verse (II. 4) the word *bāhirikāḥ* is used apparently in the sense of persons who dwell in outer areas of a town or country. The same word is em-

ployed in the Jaina Sūtrakṛitāṅga to mean an outer or suburban area of a city : *Rāyagihe ṇāmaṃ naare Nālaṃdā ṇāmaṃ vāhiriā hotthā*, "Nalanda was a suburban area of the city called Rājagṛiha" (Shama Sastri, Text, p. 57).

Another *anushṭubh* verse (IV. 13) prescribed that a thoughtless man who has sexual intercourse with (female) brutes should be fined 12 *paṇas*, and that the amount should be doubled in the case of a person who commits the same act with idols of goddesses :

मैथुने द्वादशपणस्तिर्यग्योनिष्वनात्मनः ।
दैवत प्रतिमानाञ्च गमने द्विगुणः स्मृतः ॥

This figures at the end of other prescriptions in prose providing punishment in varying degrees for a culprit who commits adultery with women of different social grades and ranks.

As for the bearing of this *śloka* on the age to which it may be referred, attention may be drawn to the first Pārājika rule of the Bhikkhu Pātimokkha which is embodied in such an ancient Pali text as the Sutta-vibhaṅga. The Buddhist Pātimokkha code prescribes in almost the same language an extreme form of punishment for a member of the Saṅgha who indulges in sexual intercourse with women, nay, even with female brutes :

यो पन भिक्खु भिक्खूनं सिक्खा-साजीव-समापन्नो सिक्खं अप्पचक्खाय दुब्बल्यमनाविकत्वा मेथुनं धम्मं पटिसेवेय अन्तमसो तिरच्छानगतायपि पाराजिको होति असंवासो ।

To the same effect it is enjoined in the Mahāvagga (I, Chattāri Akaraṇiyāni) :

उपसम्पन्नेन भिक्खुना मेथुनो धम्मो न पटिसेवितब्बो अन्तमसो तिरच्छान गताय पि । यो भिक्खु मेथुनं धम्मं पटिसेवति अस्समणो होति असाक्यपुत्तियो ।

As for persons having sexual intercourse with idols of goddesses, it is laid down in the Sutta-vibhaṅga (Vinaya Piṭaka, III, p. 36) that a bhikkhu committing this

act with a female portrait in fresco-painting (*lepachittaṃ*) or a female figure in wood (*kaṭṭha dhītalikā*), becomes liable to expulsion from the Saṅgha under the Pārājika section. Buddhaghosa takes the word *lepachittaṃ* to mean *chittakammarūpaṃ* (a portrait in a piece of painting, (*lepachitta-vatthumhi*), and the other word, *Kaṭṭha-dhītalikā* in the sense of *kaṭṭharūpaṃ* (a figure in wood). In commenting on these two words, he adds: *Yathā cha imesu dvīsu evaṃ aññesu pi dantarūpa-potthakarūpa-loharūpādīsu anupādinnakesu itthirūpesu* (Samanta-pāsādikā, I, p. 278): "Just as in the case of these two, so also in that of female figures carved in ivory, moulded in clay, or cast in iron and such other substances."

As regards the *anushṭubh* verses in the Arthaśāstra on the one hand, and the inscriptions of Aśoka on the other, the correspondences in phraseology are few and far between:

Arthaśāstra	*Aśokavachana*
putrapautrānuvartinaḥ (VII. 16)	*putāpapotike* (P.E.VIII, Schism Pillar Edict, Sanchi
anytrāpada (I. 17), *anyatra*	*añatra Yonesu* (R.E. XIII); *aṃnata*
guptisthānebhyaḥ (II. 26)	*agāya dhaṃmakāmatāya* (P.E.I)
praṇayād rakshyate (VII. 9)	*panayaṃ gachhema*
praṇayena (VIII. 5)	*su munisānaṃ* (S.R.E.I)
rājñāmājñā tu śāsaman (III. 1)	*sāsane* (Schism Pillar)
āṭavīshu (VII. 6)	*aṭaviyo* (R.E. XIII)
pratyante (VII. 6)	*prachaṃtesu* (R.E. II)
sāmantaṃ (VII. 6)	*sāmaṃtā lājāno* (R.E. II)
niruddho deśakālābhyām (VII. 3)	*niludhāsi kālasi* (P.E. IV)
ek*adeśam* (V. 4)	*ekadesaṃ* (R.E. VII)
āyatyāṃ cha tadātve cha	*tadatvāye āyatiye cha* (R.E. X)
uchchhulkam (II. 21)	*ubalike* (Lumbinī Pillar)
abhirāmam (II. 13)	*abhilāmāmi* (R.E. VIII)
ātyayikaṃ kāryam (I. 12)	*atiyāyike* (R.E. VI)
arthasya mūlaṃ utthānaṃ	*tasa esa mūle usṭānaṃ*

Arthaśāstra	*Aśokavachana*
rājño hi vratam utthānaṃ, yajñaḥ kāryānuśānam (I. 12)	*cha athasaṃtāraṇā cha* (R.E. VI)
āṭaviko veti (X. 6)	*e apareyati aṭavi* (R.E.)

It is certain that the meaning of the word *anuśaya* (rescission) as employed in the Arthaśāstra verse (III. 15) is not applicable to Aśoka's *anusaya* (R. E. XIII), which conveys the Sanskrit lexicon meaning of remorse, repentance (*anuśocanā, anutāpa*). And it is still to be decided if the *anubandha* ("antecedents", according to Shama Sastri's rendering) of the Arthaśāstra verse (IV. 10) and the *anubaṁdha* of Aśoka (R.E.V) means the same thing.

Nevertheless, without keeping some of the Arthaśāstra verses in the immediate background of Aśoka's inscriptions we cannot account for the reason of the quinquennial tour of inspection (R.E. III, S.R.E.I) and of the tour of inspection to be undertaken within every third year (B. R.E.I), both insisted on by Aśoka.

According to the Arthaśāstra verse (II. 20), there occurs an additional month (*adhimāsa*) in the middle of every third year and at the end of five years:

एवमर्धतृतीयानामब्दानामधिमासकम् ।
ग्रीष्मे जनयतः पूर्वं पंचाब्दान्ते च पश्चिमम् ॥

This indicates that in instituting the quinquennial and triennial tours of inspection Aśoka's idea was to utilise the additional month,—an arrangement, which would not interfere much with the usual administrative duties of the officers concerned.

The Arthaśāstra verse (IV. 8) prescribes either banishment from the kingdom or compulsory residence in mines as a punishment in the case of a Brahmin offender:

ब्राह्मणं पापकर्माणमुद्घुष्यात् कुकृतव्रणम् ।
कुर्यान्निर्विषयं राजा वासयेदाकरेषु वा ॥

According to Aśoka's ordinance, a monk or nun, found guilty of the offence of breaking up the Saṅgha, was to be disrobed and compelled to live in a non-monastic residence, which tantamounts to saying, permanently expelled from the Saṅgha. The prevalence of the practice of proclaiming of the offender's crime in public is corroborated by the evidence of the Vinaya Chullavagga (VII. 3. 2) speaking of *pakāsaniyakamma*.

Aśoka in his P.E.V, says that he had ordered twenty-five jail-deliveries (*baṃdhanamokhāni*) within a period of twenty-six years of his *abhisheka*, while in his R.E.V, he tells us that he employed his *Dharmamahāmātras* to work for the non-harassment, provision and release of the prisoners under certain conditions. The Arthaśāstra verses (II. 36) may be cited to show what was the customary practice of earlier times:

दिवसे पंचरात्रे वा बन्धनस्थान् विशोधयेत् ।
कर्मणा कायदंडेन हिरण्यानुग्रहेण वा ॥
अपूर्वदेशाभिगमे युवराजाभिषेचने ।
पुत्रजन्मनि वा मोक्षो बन्धनस्य विधीयते ॥

Now, turning to the prose treatise of the Arthaśāstra, we cannot fail to detect in the midst of prose several statements and prescriptions that read as verses. Consider, for instance, the very first statement of the treatise which reads as prose in Shama Sastri's edition:

पृथिव्या लाभे पालने च यावन्त्यर्थशास्त्राणि पूर्वाचार्यैः ।
प्रस्थापितानि प्रायशस्तानि संहृत्यैकमिदमर्थशास्त्रम् ॥

A few rhyming verses of the type met with in the Jaina Āchārāṅga are detectable in Ch. XI of Bk. III:

Āchārāṅga, Uvāhaṇa-suyaṃ:

आवेसण-सभा-पवासु पणियसालासु एगया वासो ।
अदु वा पलियट्ठानेसु पलालपुञ्जेसु एगया वासो ॥
आगन्तारे आरामागारे नगरे वि एगया वासो ।
सुसाणे सुण्णागारे वा रुक्खमूले एगया वासो ॥

Arthaśāstra, III. 19:

कलहे द्रव्यमपहरतो दशपणो दंडः ।
क्षुद्रकद्रव्यहिंसायां तच्च तावच्च दंडः ॥
वस्त्राभरणहिरण्य सुवर्णभाण्ड
हिंसायां तच्च पूर्वश्च च साहसदंडः ॥

The two verses, quoted in Ch. II of Bk. X with the words—*apīha ślokau bhavataḥ*, are traceable in the Nāṭaka of Bhāsa, and these represent the *upajāti* variety of the *trishṭubh* metre (Shama Sastri, Transl., p. xxi). Similar *upajāti* forms of verse are met with also in Ch. X of Bk. II. The style of composition of these stanzas is on a par with that in the Sanskrit Kāvya poetry and Praśastis. Unless it is proved that the two verses now traced in Bhāsa's Nāṭaka were quoted from a common earlies source, the presumption must be that they were quoted from Bhāsa's work. Just one *upajāti* verse is cited below from II. 10 to give the reader an idea of what it is like:

प्रज्ञापनाज्ञा परिदान लेखः तथा परिहार निसृष्टि लेखौ ।
प्रावृत्तिकश्च प्रतिलेख एव सर्वत्रगश्चेति हि शासनानि ॥

The prose treatise employs in physical or secular sense the Sanskrit equivalents of the following Buddhist technical terms that occur in the oldest stratum of the Pali canonical texts:

Buddhavachana	*Arthaśāstra*
मग्गदेसक	मार्गदेशिक
एकायन मग्ग	एकायन मार्ग
विनय कम्म	विनय कर्म

The Dhammaṭṭhavagga of the Dhammapada presupposes the secular institution of the *Dharmasthas* whose judicial and administrative functions are fully described in the Arthaśāstra. The Pali Canonical texts and the Arthaśāstra show a complete agreement between

them in so far as they do not keep the distinction between the *Amātyas* and *Mahāmātras*.

Judged as a prose treatise, the Arthaśāstra bears resemblance to the Pali Pātimokkha as regards the mode of formulation of rules, as will appear from the following instance:

Bhikkhu-Pātimokkha	*Arthaśāstra*
यो पन भिक्खु	भिक्षुक वैदेहकौ
अञ्ञातिकाय भिक्खुनिया	मत्तोन्मत्तौ बलादापदि
पुराणचीवरं	चातिसन्निकृष्टाः
पटिगण्हेय अञ्ञत्र	प्रवृत्तप्रवेशाश्चादंड्याः
पारिवत्तका-निसग्गियं	अन्यत्र
पाचित्तीयं	प्रतिषेधात्

But one may seek also to show the resemblance between the prose style of the Arthaśāstra and that of the Yavamajjhaka portion of the Mahā-ummagga or Mahosadha Jātaka (Fausböll No. 546), illustrated in one of the Barhut bas-reliefs of about 100 B.C.:

Arthaśāstra	*Mahā-ummagga Jātaka*
जीवकादीन् वृषलप्रव्रजितान् देवपितृ-कार्येषु भोजयतः शत्यो दण्डः।	अयञ्च रञ्ञो मंगलउसभो पतिट्ठित-गम्भो एतं विजायापेत्वा सवच्छकं एसेथ अपेसेन्तानं सहस्सदंडो।

On the other hand, in certain chapters dealing with purely legal matters within the scope of a Dharmasūtra or Dharmaśāstra, the prose style of the Arthaśāstra is typically aphoristic: *vivāha pūrvo vyavahāraḥ*; *kanyā-dānaṃ kanyām alaṅkṛitya Brāhmo vivāhaḥ;* etc. (III. 2). As Dr. Shama Sastri inclines to think, the resemblance of the Arthaśāstra in respect of this style is rather with the works of such ancient writers on law as Bodhāyana.

But on these grounds it is not possible to decide once for all the question of date of the extant Arthaśāstra. One of the decisive facts is the compilation of the prose

treatise strictly in accordance with a textual and exegetical methodology, presented and defined in the concluding chapter (XV. 1) in terms of thirty-two *tantrayuktis*. This very methodology with its 32 terms is defined almost in the same language in the concluding chapter of the Suśruta-saṃhitā (Atindra Nath Bose in I.C., IV). The number of terms increased later from 32 to 34 in Vāgbhaṭa's Ashṭāṅga-hṛidaya, and to a still larger number in the final redaction of the Charaka-saṃhitā. The formulation of such a methodology and the compilation of a scientific treatise in strict adherence to it were not the monopoly of either the Arthaśāṣtra or the Suśruta-saṃhitā. The Netti-pakaraṇa and Peṭakopadesa are the two ex-canonical but pre-Buddhaghosa and pre-Milinda Pali treatises where, particularly in the former, a similar methodology has been defined and rigidly applied. But the works themselves are ascribed anachronistically to Mahākachchāna who figured prominently among the immediate disciples of the Buddha as one gifted with the power of explaining in detail what was propounded in brief by the Buddha. Neither the Suśruta-saṃhitā nor the Netti-pakaraṇa with which the extant Arthaśāṣtra is so closely connected in point of its textual and exegetical methodology can be dated earlier than the first century A.D.

As convincingly shown by Dr. Shama Sastri (Transl., p. xi. 6), the Arthaśāstra ascribed to Kauṭilya and the Kāmasūtra ascribed to Vātsyāyana follow one and the same literary method, and as such, they represent one and the same literary type. In both, the term *aupanishadikam* is employed in the sense of 'secret means' or 'black arts,' palpably a degradation of the word *upanishad* in sense (IV. 3), which is unknown in earlier Indian literature. The views of Dīrghachārāyaṇa and Ghoṭamukha who were contemporaries of Buddha are quoted and criticised in them. But we will not bring in the evidence of

Vātsyāyana's treatise to bear upon the question of date of the Arthaśāstra, since Dr. Sastri would have us think that it was modelled on the latter, and hence chronologically later than it. We will not draw any other inference from the parallelisms between the Arthaśāstra and the Yājñavalkya-smṛiti than that the latter has versified Kauṭilya's passages, although it is not altogether unlikely that the verses in the former were drawn from an earlier Kārikā. We will indeed freely concede to Dr. Sastri that the extant Arthaśāstra is presupposed by Daṇḍi, Kālidāsa, Yājñavalkya, Vātsyāyana, Kāmandaka, the Jaina Nandisūtra and Anuyogadvāra. Even so, these later works help us only to determine the lower limit of the probable date of the Arthaśāstra, and not certainly the upper limit of the same. The equal number of *tantrayuktis* and the closest possible verbal resemblance of their definitions in the Arthaśāstra and the Suśruta-saṃhitā cannot but be relied upon as a positive datum of chronology, which, when considered together with other reliable data, can bring us very near to the truth.

Now, instituting a comparison between the prose text of the Arthaśāstra and the inscriptions of Aśoka, we may list the following phrases as common to both:

Arthaśāstra	*Aśokavachana*
anyatra mātuḥ (II. 1), *anyatra vyapadeśena* (II. 25), *anyatra pratishedāt* (IV. 13), etc.	*anātra Yonesu* (R.E. XIII) *aṃnata agāya dhaṃmakāmatāya agena bhayena,* etc. (P.E.I)
anyaṃ pratipādayishyāmaḥ (I. 10).	*majhaṃ paṭipādayema* (S.R.E.I)
mahānase (II. 27)	*mahānasamhi* (R.E.I)
rājñaḥ prabhāvaḥ	*pabhāve Devānaṃpiyasa* (R.E. XIII)
dvipada-chatushpadānām (III. 15)	*dupana-chatupadesu* (P.E.II)
putradāram ātmānam	*atanam* (S.R.E.II)

Arthaśāstra	*Aśokavachana*
pratyāsannam (III. 20)	*paṭiyāsaṃnesu* (P.E.VI)
tadātve cha āyatyām cha (V. 4)	*tadatvāye āyatiye cha* (R.E X)
anarthyāḥ (V. 4)	*anaṭhāye* (P.E.V)
hastivanabhogaḥ (VII. 11)	*nāgavanasi*
nāgavana (II. 2)	*kevaṭabhogasi* (P.E.V)
sukaro hi mitreṇa sandhiḥ (VII. 13)	*sukaraṃ hi pāpaṃ* (R.E.V)
viśvāsayet (VII. 14)	*visvaṃsayitave* (Sārnāth)
Pushyena (XIV. 3)	*Tisena* (S.R.E.I)
kṛshṇa-chaturdaśyāṃ paurṇamāsyāṃ Pushya yoginyām (IV. 3)	*chāvudasāye paṃnadasāye Tisāye, Tisāyaṃ puṃnamāsiyaṃ* (P.E.V)
chāturmasyeshvardhamāsikaṃ āghātam (XIII. 5)	*chātuṃmāsiye pakhāye lakhane no kaṭaviye* (P.E.V)
anugrahaṃ dīnānāthavyādhitānām (XIII. 5)	*anāthesu vuḍhesu hitasukhāye* (R.E.V)
ānugrahikaṃ	*ānugahikesu* (P.E.IV)
(*śāsanakamuktaṃ*) *mukhājñaptam* (II. 6)	*yaṃ kiṃchi mukhato*
dāpaka (IV. 6)	*ānapayāmi dāpakaṃ vā srāvāpakaṃ vā* (R.E.VI)
mahāntaṃ saṅgham (IV. 4)	*mahaṃte vijaye* (R.E.XIV)
yātrāvihāragato (V. 1)	*vihārayātā ñayaṃsu* (R.E.VIII)
ātyayike kārye (I. 15)	*atiyāyike* (R.E.VI)
āvāsayeyuḥ, āvāseyuh (II. 4), *vāsayeyuḥ* (II. 36)	*āvāsayiye, vāsāpetaviye* (Schism Pillar)
ayaṃ parihāpayati (II. 8)	*desaṃ hāpayisati* (R.E.V)
mādhuryam (II. 10)	*mādhuratāya* (R.E.XIV)
punaruktam (II. 10)	*puna-puna-vutaṃ* (R.E.XIV)
uchchhulkam (II. 21)	*ubalike* (Lumbinī Pillar)
prāptavyavahārānām (III. 5)	*patavadhānaṃ* (P.E.IV)
apravṛitavadhānām (II. 26)	*yūgyāchariyāni* (M.R.E.)
yogyāchāryāḥ (II. 30)	
deyavisargo (IX. 6)	*dānavisagasi* (P.E.VII)
abhīkshṇaṃ upajapet (IX. 6)	*abhikhinaṃ upadhā Peyu* (Bhāru)
yathārham (IX. 3)	*yathrārahaṃ* (M.R.E.)

Arthaśāstra	*Aśokavachana*
alpavyayaḥ (IX. 4)	*apavyāyatā* (R.E. III)
mahābhāṇḍena (II. 28)	*apabhaṃḍatā* (R. E. II)
sāmantāṭavikān (IX. 3)	*sāmaṃtā lājāne* (R.E.II)
pratividhānam (VII. 16)	*paṭividhāne* (R.E.VIII)
mitravarge (VII. 15)	*vage bahujane* (S.R.E.I)
utsāhayuktā (VII. 4)	*usāhena* (P.E.I)
kumāra (V. 3)	*kumāle* (S.R.E.I)
devīkumārāṇām (VII. 15)	*devikumālānaṃ* (P.E.VII)
nagara-vyavahāroka (II. 4)	*nagalaviyohālakā* (S.R.E.I)
pauravyavahārika (I. 12, V. 3)	
rāshṭrāntapāla, antapāla (V. 3)	*aṃta-mahāmātā* (P.E.I)
mṛiga-paśu-pakshi-byāḷa-matsyārambhān (IV. 3)	*prāṇāraṃbho* (P.E.IV)
paribhoga (IV. 6)	*paṭibhogaṃ* (P.E.V)
apavāhayanti (IV. 9)	*apavuḍhe* (R.E.XIII)
mahāmātrāḥ (II. 9)	*mahāmātā* (Queen's Edict)
bhakta-saṃvibhāgam (IV. 3)	*dāna-saṃvibhāge* (P.E.IV)
paribhāshaṇam (IV. 11)	*palibhāsayisaṃ* (P.E.III)
pāshaṇḍa (III. 16)	*save pāsaṃḍā* (R.E.VII)
parichareyuḥ (I. 21)	*paṭichalisaṃti* (P.E.IV)
dharmadānam (III. 16)	*dhaṃmadānaṃ* (R.E.IX,, XI)
samavāyo (III. 12)	*samavāyo* (R.E. XII)
asampratipattau (III. 11)	*asaṃpraṭipati* (R.E.IV)
ghaṭetu (VI. 2)	*ghaṭitaṃ* (R.E.XIV)
hiraṇyadānam (III. 10)	*hiraṃṇapaṭividhāno* (R.E. VIII)
hiraṇyānugraham (II. 36)	
dṛiḍhabhaktitvam (I. 9)	*daḍhabhatitā* (R.E.VII)
avadhyāḥ (II. 26)	*avadhiyāni* (P.E.V, VII)
ashṭabhāgikam (II. 12)	*aṭhabhāgiye* (Lumbini Pillar)
dharmavijayī (XII. 1)	*dhaṃmavijayo* (R.E.XII)
dūta (I. 16)	*dūtā* (R.E.XIII)

It will be seen from the above list that a great many of the common phrases are lacking in their distinctive character, and hence of no specific value as an evidence of Aśoka's indebtedness to the prose treatise. On the other hand, the following considerations will show that the extant prose treatise is the product of a post-Aśokan age.

The Arthaśāstra mode of recording a date is one in terms of the regnal year, month, half month, and day (*rājavarshaṃ māsaḥ paksho divasaś cha vyushṭam*), while Aśoka's patent way of dating is only in terms of the *rājavarsha*,—the year of consecration. The former tallies with the mode of dating adopted in such later Indian inscriptions as those of the Śakas, Kshaharātas, Kushāṇas, and Aikshvākus. The Aśokan way is adhered to in all the earlier Indian inscriptions including the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela. It is moreover doubtful whether *vyushṭa* of the Arthaśāstra is the same technical term of Aśoka's *vuṭha*, *vutha* or *vivutha*.

The *lekhaka* of the Arthaśāstra is not the *lipikara* of Aśoka. Aśoka's *lipikara* played at the most the part of a mechanical engraver in stone of a piece of writing locally supplied to him without having to exercise his intelligence as to its literary or linguistic aspect, its contents or style of composition. Aśoka was fully aware of the incompleteness of his records due, partly at least, to the fault of his *lipikara* (R.E. XIV). On the other hand, the *lekhaka* of the Arthaśāstra was a responsible officer "possessed of ministerial qualities, well versed in all branches of literature, smart in composition, good in handwriting, and capable of reading a writ" (*amātya-sampadopetaḥ sarvasamayavid āśugranthaśchārvaksharo lekha-vāchana-samarthaḥ*). He was to reduce to writing the king's intended message after having attentively heard it and grasped its true import (*so'vyagramanā rājñasandeśaṃ śrutvā niśchitārthaṃ lekhaṃ vidadhyāt*). This nature of work was executed by Aśoka's subordinate officers (*yutas*) under instructions from his *purisas* or *parisā* (R.E. III). Furthermore, leaves (*patrakam*) are the writing material prescribed in the Arthaśāstra (II. 10), and writing meant the use of some sort of an ink, while writing in Aśokan time meant just the engraving

of letters on a hard substance like wood or stone. According to the Arthaśāstra, the king was sometimes to consult his ministers by sending letters (*patra-sampreshaṇena*, I. 15), a procedure, which is inconceivable much before the beginning of the Christian era. This is, however, not to deny that the Arthaśāstra classification and rules and forms of royal writs are not applicable to the inscriptions of Aśoka. But the records of Aśoka do not certainly reach the standard of perfection in epistolary correspondence set up in the Arthaśāstra.

The principle of *ahiṃsā* led Aśoka to make a special regulation of piety (*dhaṃmaniyama*) declaring certain species of birds, mammals, fish and quadrupeds as inviolable (*avadhiyāni*, P.E. V, VII) on this twofold ground that they were neither eaten by man and that they did not come into man's use. The same measure of law was intended also to prohibit the killing of fish and other animals on certain specified days in fish-preserves and elephant-forests, as well as to minimise cruelty to animals. Asoka's list of *avadhyas* was evidently prepared on the basis of the current lists of *abhakshyas*, such as those contained in the law-books of Bodhāyana and Vasishṭha. The cow is not included in Aśoka's list of inviolables. As a matter of fact, the whole of his regulation is silent on the fate of the cow. Probably the killing of the cow was out of the question in the Middle Country by the time of Aśoka, inasmuch as beef is forbidden as a food by Bodhāyana and Vasishṭha with whom the custom of the Madhyadeśa was the standard of good social taste. Aśoka's irreducible minimum comprised two peafowls and one deer, better two birds typified by the peafowl and one quadruped typified not by the cow but by the antelope (R.E.I.).

The prose treatise of the Arthaśāstra emphatically declares the cow of all description to be inviolable (*vatso vṛisho dhenuśchaishām avadhyāḥ*, II. 16) and insists

(II. 16) that elephants, horses and other animals bearing human physiognomy, bulls and asses living in oceans, fish living in tanks, lakes, channels and rivers, certain specified birds, and such other birds or beasts as were regarded as sacrosanct (*maṅgalyāḥ*) should be protected from all manner of molestation (*hiṁsābādhebhyaḥ rakshyāḥ*). Only as a means of restoration of peace in a conquered territory the Arthaśāstra recommends the prohibition of the slaughter of animals for half a month during the period of *chāturmāsya*, for four nights during the period of full moon, and for a night on the day of the birth-star of the king or of the national star, as well as the prohibition of the slaughter of females and young ones and castration of animals, more or less on the lines of Aśoka's regulation of piety.

Though in effect the clauses of Aśoka's regulation of piety and the prescriptions of the Arthaśāstra may be taken to be the same, as regards their motives and grounds they are so very different from each other that it is very difficult to establish any chronological connexion between them save and except on the following consideration:

Already before the date of compilation of the prose treatise of the Arthaśāstra the popular sentiment in India was against the slaughter of animals for half a month during the period of *chāturmāsya,* for four nights during the full moon, and for a night on the birth-star of the king and the country, and against the slaughter of females and young ones and castration of animals on those days, and the Arthaśāstra wanted just to respect that sentiment as a means of pacifying the people of a conquered territory. Aśoka's regulation of piety, which was widely enforced, must have been greatly instrumental to the creation of that popular sentiment. The spirit of philanthropy which underlies the prescriptions in the prose treatise is absent from the Arthaśāstra verse (II.

26) giving sanction to the entrapping and killing of wild cattle and beasts as well as of fish living in forests under state protection, if they become of vicious nature, though not inside the forest preserve:

> धृष्टाः पशुमृगव्याला मत्स्याश्चाभयचारिणः ।
> अन्यत्र गुप्तिस्थानेभ्यः वधबन्धमवाप्नुयुः ॥

As stated in Ch. 2 of Bk. II of the prose treatise, extensive forests, full of harmless animals, tigers, beasts of prey, male and female elephants, young elephants, and bisons—all deprived of their claws and teeth, were to be maintained for the king's sports (*vihārārthaṃ rājñaḥ kārayet*).

The inclusion of peafowls (*mayūra*) in his list of birds deserving protection from all kinds of molestation may be taken to suggest that the author of the prose treatise of the Arthaśāstra had followed the Smṛiti writers other than those of the Madhyadeśa.

The *Rajjukas* and *Prādesikas* who were the highly important, but not newly appointed, officers of Aśoka are conspicuous by their absence in the Arthaśāstra. Even the Maurya capital Pāṭaliputra does not find mention in it. It has, moreover, nothing to say about the Greek contemporaries of any of the Maurya emperors. Its hostile attitude to the Śākyas (Buddhists), Ājīvakas, and other so-called *vṛishala pravrajitas*, its partiality to the Brahmins and Brahmanical ascetics, and its predilections for the performance of the *rājasūya* and horse sacrifices combine to suggest its connection with a post-Mauryan age of Brahmanical reaction against Buddhism, Jainism, and Ājīvikism. It is indeed said of Bindusāra, father of Aśoka, that he was a votary of the Brahmanist, and as such, a lay supporter of the Brahmins and Brahmanical sects of ascetics (*Bindusāro brāhmaṇabhatto ahosi*, so *Brāhmaṇānañ cha Brāhmaṇajātiyapāsaṇḍānañ cha*

Paṇḍaraṅgaparibhājakādīnām . . . . nichchabhattaṃ paṭṭhapesi, Samantapāsādikā, I, p. 44). But there is no tradition to support the contention that either Chandragupta Maurya or Bindusāra was hostile in his attitude to the Buddhists, the Ājīvakas, and such other recluses.

The prose treatise of the Arthaśāstra departs from the earlier literary tradition when it counts the reasons as six (II. 20) instead of as three. In Ch. 1 of Bk. IX, it applies the name *kāla* (time) to the traditional three seasons, each of four months, and the name *ṛitu* to the six seasons, each of two months: *kālaḥ śītoshṇavarshātmā, tasya rātrir ahaḥ paksho māsa ritur ayanaṃ saṃvatsaro yugam iti viśeshāḥ*. But Aśoka's phrase *tīsu chātuṃmasisu* (P.E. V) clearly adheres to the tradition of three seasons.

The earlier Indian phrase *chāturanta* or *chāturantī mahī* is used in the *anushṭubh* verses to denote the extent of suzerainty of a traditional overlord, whereas the specification of the same in the prose treatise (IX. 1) seems to confine it within Northern India: *Deśaḥ pṛithivī, tasyāyaṃ. Himavatsamudrāntaram udīchīnaṃyojana-sahasraparimāṇam atiryak chakravarti-kshetram*. In the Mahāgovinda Suttanta, (Digha, II), too, the subcontinent of India is denoted by the word *paṭhavī* (earth), but it is described as extended on the north and resembling in its topographical outline a bullock-cart with its face turned towards the south (*uttarena āyataṃ, dakkhiṇena sakaṭamukhaṃ*). It goes without saying that the Maurya empire extended as far south as Mysore, while Aśoka's sphere of influence extended not only over the whole of Jambudvīpa (M.R.E.) but also over the far western territories of his five Greek contemporaries and allies. Furthermore, the Arthaśāstra extension in terms of 1,000 *yojanas* is more fantastic than Aśoka's 600 *yojanas* (R.E. XIII). Whatever be the correct interpretation of the prose description

of the domain of a king overlord, certain it is that the extant Arthaśāstra does not posit the existence of an India-wide empire. It speaks, on the other hand, of a number of petty states within the vast area of India and sketches a picture of the political condition of the country, which presents to us a scene of constant turmoil due to mutual jealousies rather than a stable form of a coordinated empire like that of the early Mauryas.

At least some of Aśoka's *Mahāmātras*, namely, the *Stryadhyakshas*, were the *Adhyakshas* or superintendents. But for that reason one cannot suggest that all of Aśoka's *Mahāmātras* were the *Adhyakshas* of the Arthaśāstra. Further, Aśoka's designation *Ithijhakha* (*Stryadhyaksha*, R.E. XII) corresponds, as pointed out by Professor Raychaudhuri, to the *Stryadhyaksha* or *Dārādhyaksha* of the Great Epic. It is only by *suggestio falsi* that the correspondence may be sought to be established between Aśoka's *Stryadhyaksha* and the *Gaṇikādhyaksha* of the Arthaśāstra. Aśoka's *Stryadhyaksha* is rather the *Antarvaṃśika* of the *Arthaśāstra* than its *Gaṇikādhyaksha*.

It is difficult to understand from the Arthaśāstra the connexion or difference between the *Amātyas* and *Mahāmātras*, none of whom finds mention by name in the list (in Ch. 3 of Bk. V) of Government servants receiving subsistence. It would seem that though distinguished from the *Mantrins* (Ministers), they were members of the *Mantri-parishad* or Council of Ministers. According to the Pali scholiast Buddhaghosa, the *Mahāmātras* were no other state-functionaries than the *Mahāmātyas*. In Ch. 6 of Bk. V, the Arthaśāstra seems to employ *Amātya* and *Mahāmātra* as one and the same designation. The connexion and difference between the two would have been quite intelligible if it were the case that all the members of the Council of Ministers bore the common designation of *Mahāmātras*, and that among themselves, some passed

as *Mantri-Mahāmātras*. In adopting *Mahāmātra* as designation of the members of the *Parisā* (R.E. VI) as well as of all high officers of the state, Aśoka appears to have followed the tradition of Magadha and Kośala as represented in the earlier stratum of the Pali Canon, whereas the prose treatise of the Arthaśāstra was the compilation of a time when the same designation tended to pass out of use.

The *Dharmasthas* of the Arthaśāstra appear as supreme judges for both civil and criminal cases. In some respects they discharged the duties assigned to the *Rajjukas* and in some respects those assigned to the *Dharmamahāmātras* of Aśoka. The edicts of Aśoka keep us entirely in the dark as regards the trial of civil suits by the *Rajjukas*. Aśoka granted them full discretionary powers in the matter of administration of justice, apparently criminal justice (P.E. IV). They functioned at the same time as several commissioners directly responsible to the king for proper execution of his orders in that portion of his empire which was under his direct control. Aśoka's edicts are far from suggesting the formation of tribunals, each composed of three *Dharmasthas* and three *Amātyas*, for the administration of justice in important areas as contemplated in the Arthaśāstra (III. 1: *Dharmasthastrayastrayo'mātyā janapadasandhi-saṅgrahadroṇamukha-sthānīyeshu vyavāhārikān arthān kuryuḥ*).

It is not a fact, as ably contended by Dr. Atindranath Bose, that the Arthaśāstra speaks only of four kinds of slaves. It mentions not less than ten kinds of slaves, *gṛihejāta, dāyādagata, labdha, krīta, āhitaka, dhvajāhṛita, daṇḍapraṇīta, udaradāsa, sakṛidātmaghāta*, and *ātmavikrayī* (III. 13), and the list which may be made out of it stands midway between that of Manu and that of Nārada.

The popular cults consisting in the worship of Kṛishṇa the slayer of Kaṃsa (XIV. 3), the worship of Saṅkarshaṇa (i.e., Baladeva, XIII. 3), and the worship of *Nāgas*, serpents, rats, mountains, rivers, Gaṅgā, Indra, and the like, connects the prose treatise with such later Pali Canonical works as the Chullaniddesa and Mahāniddesa (Pali-English Dict., *sub voce Devatā*; Barua, Barhut, III, p. 69). The worship of Saṅkarshaṇa is presupposed also by the Ghosuṇḍi Stone Inscription.

The Itihāsa presupposed by the prose treatise of the Arthaśāstra is not apparently the pre-Pāṇinian Mahābharata, ascribed to Vaiśampāyana, but the Sautī Paurāṇikī recension: *Purāṇam itivrittam ākhyāyikodāharaṇam Dharmaśāstram Arthaśāstram chetihāsaḥ* (I. 5). This definition cannot but remind us of the claims made for the Mahābhārata in its Sautī or later recension:

अर्थशास्त्रमिदं प्रोक्तं धर्मशास्त्रमिदं महत् ।
कामशास्त्रमिदं प्रोक्तं व्यासेनामितबुद्धिना ॥
अस्याख्यानस्य विषये पुराणं वर्तते द्विजः ।

(Ādiparva, Parvasaṅgraha, II. 383, 386).

The mention of Sāṅkhya, Yoga, and Lokāyata as systems of speculative philosophy (I. 2) and the application of the principles of Nyāya philosophy (I. I, sqq.) connect the prose treatise with the Pali Milinda-pañha which includes the Sāṅkhya, Yoga, and Nīti (Nyāya) in the list of 12 sciences (p. 3) and shows also the application of the method of inference (p. 345: *anumānena jānanti*).

The mention of both *Chīnabhumi* and *Chīnapaṭṭa* (Arthaśāstra, II. 11) places the prose treatise on a par, in point of chronology, with the Pali Buddhavaṃsa and Apadāna that were not only among the post-Aśokan but latest additions to the books of the Khuddaka Nikāya. Here Dr. Bandopadhyaya would contend (*op. cit.*, p. 75): "To

identify off-hand *chīna* with the country of China (supposed to derive the present name from the Tsin dynasty) and then to argue that there was no direct intercourse between India and China in the fourth century B.C. and then to make out a case against the traditional date is based on a series of *a priori* assumptions." The reasonable course would, in his opinion, be "to hold that China was the country which bordered on India and was familiar to Indians on account of the existing trade relations and was so called as it was ruled by Tsin princes who were already powerful in the 7th century B.C. (See Schoff's Periplus, p. 126)."

This does not, however, seem to be a course of argument to follow. Let us see what the cumulative evidence of Indian literature and inscriptions is and what follows therefrom. The Buddhavaṃsa, XXIV. 11, speaks of a gift of paṭṭuṇṇā (pattuṇṇā) corresponding to Kauṭilya's *patrorṇā* (fibrous garments), *Chīnapaṭṭa* (China cloth), corresponding to Kauṭilya's *Chīnapaṭṭa*, *koseyya* (silk-cloth) corresponding to Kauṭilya's *kauśeya*, and *kambala* (woollen blanket) corresponding to Kauṭilya's *kambala*. These correspondences lead us even to suspect that the Pali *sovaṇṇapāduka* (gold sandals) stood originally for *sovaṇṇakuḍḍaka* corresponding to Kauṭilya's *sauvarna-kuḍyaka*:

पट्टुण्णं चीनपट्टञ्च कोसेय्यं कंबलं पि च ।
सोवण्णपादुकञ्चेव अदासि सत्युसावके ॥

The Apadāna list (Buddhāpadāna, 14) contains the name of *kāsika* corresponding to Kauṭilya's *kāśika, kambala, dukula* corresponding to Kauṭilya's *dukūla, Chīna* corresponding to Kauṭilya's *Chīnapaṭṭa* and *Chīnabhūmija, paṭṭuṇṇā*, and *Paṇḍupāvura* corresponding probably to Kauṭilya's *Pauṇḍrika.*

The correspondences are not only very striking but at once suggestive of the sameness of the age to which the

lists belong. Furthermore, in the same Apadāna Chīna is mentioned as a distant land from which (*ārā Chīnaraṭṭhā*) the merchants and traders came to India. The Milindapañha which is a post-Canonical Pali work of the first or second century A.D., distinctly speaks of India's sea-borne trade with China (p. 359: *sadhano nāviko . . . mahāsamuddaṃ pavisitvā Vaṅgaṃ Takkolaṃ Chīnaṃ . . . Suvaṇṇabhūmiṃ gachchhati*). Chīna is described as a kingdom situated on the shore of an ocean (*ib.*, p. 121). One may be tempted to identify the Chīna-Vilāta of the Milinda (pp. 328, 331) with the Chīna-Chilāta of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Inscriptions in which they find mention among the countries where the Theravāda Buddhism got a foothold. But the two names Chīna-chilāta show a greater correspondence with the Chīna and Kirāta of the Mahābhārata. According to the Great Epic (Sabhāparva, 26. 9), the Kirātas and Chīnas nestled on the border of Prāgjyotisha (Kāmarūpa).

The Milinda list of ports (*paṭṭanas*) reached by Indian sailors (p. 359) includes, *inter alia*, the name of Takkola, Suvaṇṇabhūmi, and Chīna. The earlier list of such places outside India, contained in the Mahāniddesa, a Pali work of the 2nd or 1st century B.C., includes in it even the name of Java but precludes that of Chīna. The same remark holds true of the shorter list of such places met with in the Serissaka-story in the Vimāna and Petavatthus, composed just a century after the Buddha's demise or in the Pali Tittira Jātaka (Fausböll, Vol. III, p. 541), or in Patañjali's comment on Pāṇini's aphorism (V. 1. 77, Cf. Sylvain Lévi's *Etudes Asiatiques*, Vol. II, pp. 45—50, and R. C. Majumdar's Suvarṇadvīpa, p. 56, for other references). Does it not follow from these facts that Chīna did not find mention in Indian literature much before the beginning of the Christian era.

Naipālakam as a collective name for two patterns of

blankets (Arthaśāstra, II. 11) calls also for attention. It is obviously derived from the name of the country of Nepāla (modern Nepal) which formed in the 4th century A.D. one of the two northern border-lands (*pratyantas*) of Samudragupta's empire. The name of Nepāla as a separate country occurs nowhere in Indian literature or inscription, which may be assigned to the beginning of the Christian era, not to speak of earlier times. It does not occur even in the Digvijaya section of the Sabhāparva of the Mahābhārata. It will be going far beyond the fact to postulate the existence of any country by the name of Nepāla either in the time of Aśoka or previous to his reign.

The prose treatise of the Arthaśāstra recommends the allocation of such tutelary deities, as Aparājita, Apratihata, Jayanta, Vaijayanta, Śiva, Vaiśravaṇa (Kuvera), Aśvins, Śrī and Madirā in separate apartments of a fort. Among them, Jayanta finds mention in Āpastamba's Gṛihya Sūtra (VII. 20. 3) and Śrī in several ancient texts, Vedic and Buddhist, while Śiva is no other than Iśāna of Āpastamba (J. N. Banerjea, Development of Hindu Iconography, p. 96). The Jaina Uttarādhyana Sūtra mentions Vijaya, Vaijayanta, Jayanta, Aparājita and Sarvārthasiddha as five classes of superior gods (*anuttarā surā*, Shama Sastri, Arthaśāstra, p. 55 f.). In the Jñātādharmakathā Sūtra, we have mention of Indra, Skanda, Rudra, Śiva, Vaiśravaṇa, and Nāgas (Shama Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 56). The treatise refers also "to the figures of the goddesses and altars which were to be carved on wood door-frames of the royal underground chamber," "to the images and flags of the gods" (*deva-dhvaja-pratimābhiḥ*), and to going frequently for worship of the shrines, *stūpas*, and images of deities (XIII. 2).

Manu, too, recommends the circumambulation of images of deities (*daivatam*, IV. 139) and going on

parvan days for the worship of images for protection (IV. 153), and penalises the destruction of images, flags and posts in a temple (IX. 285). The *devalakas* are condemned (III. 152) as a class of priests who evidently begged alms from door to door by carrying an image with them or served as professional temple priests. Dr. Banerjea (*op. cit.*, p. 97) rightly opines that the data furnished thus by the Arthaśāstra and Manusmṛiti go to prove "the prevalence of image-worship in India of the 1st and 2nd centuries B.C., if not of an earlier period."

While commenting on Pāṇini's aphorism, V. 3, 99, Patañjali adds that "the Mauryas devised the expedient of replenishing their royal coffer by the selling of images of three gods called Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha,—the images that were being made in his time for worship (*archchāḥ prakalpitāḥ—yās tu etāḥ samprati-pūjārthātāsu bhavishyanti*). Patañjali's source of information about the fiscal expedient of the Mauryas is not disclosed. Of the three gods, the first finds mention in the Arthaśāstra, and the first two in the Jaina Jñātādharmakathā Sūtra. The Arthaśāstra does not as a whole bear out Patañjali's statement concerning the Maurya fiscal device. He might be recording either what was known on hearsay or what he was personally aware of in connexion with certain local Maurya rulers.

The worship of images was undoubtedly prevalent in India of pre-Aśokan times. Āpastamba's Gṛihya Sūtra (VII. 20. 3) distinctly mentions the image of Iśāna or Śiva. Pāṇini in his Ashṭādhyāyī (V. 3. 96—100) devotes five aphorisms to the topic of *pratikṛiti* or image, in the first of which he defines a *pratikṛiti* as figuration in the likeness of something (*ive pratikṛitau*). By the second aphorism he lays down the rule governing the naming of the concrete representation of a likeness (*saṃjñāyām*); in the third, he speaks of figuration in human forms

(*manushye*); the fourth *sūtra* bears testimony to the use of images as a means of livelihood, though not as articles of trade (*jīvikārthe chāpaṇye*), while the fifth aphorism refers to the *pratikṛiti* of *devapatha*, "the heavenward path", and the like. The fourth aphorism, as the commentators rightly point out, speaks of the profession of the *devalakas* (*devalakānāṃ jīvi-kārthāḥ pratikṛitayaḥ*): The *pratikṛitis* of Pāṇini might as well be taken to stand for portraits in the language of painting. The same fact is borne out by the evidence of the Pali Sutta-vibhaṅga (Vinaya Piṭaka, III, p. 36) which refers to portraits in fresco-painting (*lepachittaṃ*) and female figures in wood (*kaṭṭhadhītalikā*). It is moreover quite possible that in the *vimānas* of Aśokan time were installed either portraits or idols of certain popular gods and goddesses.

But, howsoever old is the image worship in India, the manner of reference to it takes the later form of the treatise beyond the reign of Aśoka. It not only speaks of the worship of images but of their desecration (XII. 5: *prāśya prāśaṃ chaityaṃ upas-thāpya daivata-pratimāchchhidraṃ praviśyāsīta*, "he may lie concealed in a hole bored into the body of an idol after eating sacramental food and setting up an altar"). The same as to the Manu-saṃhitā (IX. 285) which imposes a heavy fine on the desecrators of idols and temple flags and pillars (*dhvaja-yashṭināṃ pratimānāṃ cha bhedakāḥ*). No wonder, then, that the Pali Nettipakaraṇa which ranks with the extant treatise of the Arthaśāstra in respect of its methodology, speaks of the desecrators of *stūpas* (*thūpabhedakā*) and condemns the desecration of stūpas as one of the heinous offences, whereas the Pali canonical list of five heinous offences, precludes this altogether. As regards Indian epigraphs, the Sānchī Stūpa I Toraṇa Inscription is the oldest known record which declares the desecration of a *stūpa* structure to be a heinous sin. All these data, literary and epi-

graphic, point to the same conclusion, namely, that the state of things to which they refer prevailed in an age about the beginning of the Christian era.

It is for the first time in the Junāgaṛh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman I (150 A.D.) that we come across the official designation of *Sachivas*, distinguished into two classes, *Mati* and *Karma*, but this is conspicuous by its absence in the Arthaśāstra.

The *Rāśis* or Signs of the Zodiac figure in duplicates on the Bodhagayā stone-railing, erected towards the close of the first century B.C. (Barua, Gayā and Buddhagayā, Vol. II). This is the oldest known and monumental evidence of India's knowledge of the signs. But the prose treatise of the Arthaśāstra still conforms to the tradition of an age when the *nakshatras* or lunar constellations had formed the basis of astronomical calculations (II. 20).

Lastly, the Indian form of currency, referred to in the Arthaśāstra, takes no notice of *dinēras* that find mention in the Junāgaṛh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman I. Its preoccupation is still with such earlier media of exchange as *hiraṇya*, *suvarṇa*, *dharaṇa*, *paṇa* and smaller coins of gold, silver, copper, and other baser metals. As Dr. Shama Sastri points out, Pāṇini also mentions the names of some of these coins (*kārshāpaṇa*, *paṇa*, *pāda*, *māsha*, V. 1. 29, V. 1. 34). We may add that these are the very coins that find mention in the Pali canonical texts. I find it difficult nonetheless to agree with Dr. Shama Sastri in inferring from the Smṛtis of Kātyāyana, quoted in the Smṛitichandrikā, that the earlier system of currency was replaced by *dināra* and its subdivisions in the time of Patañjali (Arthaśāstra, Transl., p. xxviii f.). In commenting on Pāṇini's rule (V. 1. 29, V. 1. 34), Patañjali quotes the opinion of a grammarian according to which "it was in times past that sixteen *māshas* made one *kārshāpaṇa* and sixteen *palas* one

māshaśaṃvaṭya." I fail to see how this may be taken "to refer to the system of currency described in" Ch. 19 of Bk. II of the Arthaśāstra. The name of *dharaṇa* as a standard silver coin is unknown to Pāṇini and absent from the texts of the Pali canon. Patañjali's grammarian might be thinking of the replacement of the *kārshāpaṇa* system of currency by the *Dharaṇa*, and not that of the *Dharaṇa* system by the *Dināra*.

From these facts, it may be reasonably concluded that whatever the actual date of compilation of the extant prose treatise of the Arthaśāstra, it is anterior to that of the Junāgaṛh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman I, and may stand near about the beginning of the Christian era.

ESSENCE OF INDIAN CULTURE

BY

D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., PH.D.

The *Dhammapada* has a couplet saying : *na hi verena verāni sammant'idha kadāchanam averena cha sammanti esa dhammo sanantano* : "Hatred indeed never ceases with hatred. Hatred ceases with love. This is law eternal." The same verse occurs in the sanskritised form in the Mahābhārata.[1] In fact, it has by now become deep-rooted in the Indian nature. It had certainly become an integral part of the Indian mind as early as the tenth century A.D.

From the eighth century onwards, India, especially the Western Coast, was visited by a good many Arab merchants who had settled down there. They have left accounts of this country. The most eminent of them was Al Ma'sūdī, a native of Baghdad, who came to India about the beginning of the 10th century. Multan was then under the Musalman rule and was famous for the idol of the sun god. The inhabitants of Sind and India performed pilgrimages to it from the most distant places. They carried money, precious stones, aloe-wood, and all sorts of perfumes there to fulfil their vows. The greatest part of the revenue of the Musalman king of Multan was derived, we are told, from the rich presents brought to the idol of the pure aloe-wood of Kumar (Comorine) which was of the finest quality and one *man* of which was worth 200 *dinars*. One remark of Al Ma'sūdī in this connection is noteworthy. "When the unbelievers," says he, "march against Multan, and the faithful do not feel themselves

[1] *Udyoga-P.*, 71, 62-63.

strong enough to oppose them, they threaten to break their idol, and their enemies immediately withdraw."[2] This is one picture. Let us now look at the other. From Kambaay (Cambay) to Saimur (Cheul), says Al Istākhri (A.D. 951), is the land of the Balhara, and in it there are several Indian kings. As was pointed out long ago by R. G. Bhandarkar,[3] Balhara is equivalent to Vallabha-rāja, which was the epithet of the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings of Mānkēr (Mānyakhēṭa). "It is a land of infidels," says Al Istākhri, "but there are Musalmans in its cities, and none but Musalmans rule over them on the part of the Balhara. There are Jama'masjids in them."[4] "Of all the kings of Sind and India," says also Al-Ma'sūdī (A.D. 943), "there is no one who pays greater respect to the Musalmans than the Balhara. In his kingdom Islam is honoured and protected."[5] Nearly ten thousand Musalmans were settled in Saimur (Cheul) including some (called Bayāsirah) born in the land of Arab parents and others from *Sīrāf*, and Persian Gulf, Basrah, Baghdad, and other towns. A certain Mūsa-bin Is-hāk had been appointed Rais or ruler by the Balhara to adjudicate Muhammadan disputes according to Musalman law and customs.[6]

Let us now weigh and ponder over some of the scraps of information conveyed by the two Arab travellers and geographers. What we gather from these accounts is that the sea-board stretching from Cambay to Cheul contained cities peopled by the Musalmans and adorned with Jāmi Masjids, that this province was comprised in the empire of the Rāshṭrakūṭa sovereign of

[2] Elliot & Dowson's *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 23.
[3] *Bomb. Gazet.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 209.
[4] Elliot & Dowson, p. 27.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 24.
[6] *Bomb. Gazet.*, Vol. I. Pt. I, p. 516.

Mānyakhēṭa who outvied all other rulers in India in paying respect to the Musalmans and honouring and protecting Islam and that he translated this mentality into action by appointing a Musalman Rais for adjudicating Muhammadan disputes according to Musalman law and ruling over the Musalman province "on the part of the Balhara," that is, under the auspices of the Rāshṭrakūṭa sovereign. The tidings of the sword of Damocles, which the Musalman ruler of Multan set hanging over the head of the sun-god of that place, could not but have reached the Rāshṭrakūṭa sovereign, who, however, true to the heritage of the past of his country, meted out an equitable treatment to the followers of Islam.

Whatever foreign races poured into India and whatever they were by religious persuasion they were before long imbued with the Indian spirit of returning hatred, not with hatred, but with love, provided they were settled down in India. Let us here take a contrary example to prove our point. As late as the close of the 18th century, the Marāthās were supposed to be the greatest champions of Hinduism, and Tipu Sultan of Mysore was generally considered "as a bigoted follower of the prophet of Mecca, and we learn from the evidence of Hushein Aly—a contemporary and by no means a hostile historian—that Tipu was not at all favourably disposed towards the Hindus."[7] But in 1916 my friend, Rao Saheb R. Narasimhachar, Archaeological Officer of Mysore, brought to light some records of Tipu at the Śṛiṅgēri Maṭha. "From one of them, addressed to the Svami," says he, "we learn that Mahratta horsemen raided Śṛiṅgēri, killed and wounded many Brahmans and other people, pulled out the goddess Śāradā and carried off everything found in the Matha; that the Svāmi,

[7] *I. A.*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 103.

having therefore left Śringēri, was living with four of his disciples at Karakaḷa; and that on his writing to Tipu informing him of all this and telling him that without Government help in the shape of money and things it was not possible to re-consecrate the image of the goddess Śāradā, the latter replied thus:—"People who have sinned against such a holy place are sure to suffer the consequences of their misdeeds at no distant date in this Kali age in accordance with the verse *hasadbhiḥ kriyate karma rudadbhir=anubhūyate*, 'people do evil deeds smiling, but will suffer the consequences weeping.' Treachery to *gurus* will undoubtedly result in the destruction of the line of descent. An order is enclosed to the *āsaf* of Nagar directing him to give on behalf of Government 200 *rahati* in cash and 200 *rahati* worth of grain for the consecration of the goddess Śāradā, and to supply other articles, if desired, for money. You may also get the necessary things from the *inām* villages. Having thus consecrated the goddess and fed the Brahmans, please pray for the increase of our prosperity and the destruction of our enemies."[8] There are many other letters from Tipu Sultan found in the Śringēri Maṭha which are not lacking in interest. Thus there is one where Tipu requests the Svāmi to have the ceremonies '*Sata-Chaṇḍī-japa* and *Sahasra-Chaṇḍī-japa* performed for the destruction not only of the traitors to *gurus* but also "of the three groups of enemies (*i.e.*, the English, the Mahrattas and the Nizam) who are harassing the country and to send details of the expenses to be incurred." There are several more letters which refer to the great loss sustained by the Maṭha in consequence of a raid by the Marāṭhās under Paraśurām Bhau Paṭwardhan. Now, the Svāmī

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[8] *An. Rep. Mysore Arch. Dept.*, 1916, p. 74.

[9] *I. A.*, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 102-3.

of Ṣṛiṅgēri was generally styled as the Peshwa's *guru*. Religious and social questions were often referred to him for decision by the Peshwas. The details of these letters from the last Sultan of Mysore are thus *prima facie* incredible. "All these details, however," says Dr. Surendra Nath Sen, "are confirmed by two letters written from the Mahratta Camp. Both of these have been published in the 9th volume of Mr. V. V. Khare's *Aitihāsik Lekha-Saṅgraha* . . . Trimbak Rāu Ballāḷ wrote to Bālāsāheb: "Before the army crossed the Tuṅgabhadrā, the Lamāṇs and the Peṇḍhārīs had gone towards Śivamoghe. They plundered the Svami's village of Ṣṛiṅgēri. They looted the Svāmi's belongings, including his Danda and Kamandalu and left nothing. Women were violated and some of them committed suicide. The Devalinga and other images belonging to the Svāmī were plundered." "These Peṇḍhārīs," remarks Dr. Sen, "were not independent freebooters, but they formed an integral part of the Mahratta army. Moreover, their deeds were legalised by the tacit sanction of the State . . ." This is a very clear instance of a foreign race identifying themselves with Indian interests and welfare when they are once settled in India. Hatred is forgotten and replaced by love, and they become the staunchest champions of Hindus, whatever their religious persuasion is.

MATHEMATICS IN KARNATAKA OF THE MIDDLE AGES

BY

M. MANAPPA BHAT, M.A., L.T.

Jagaddaḷa Sōmanātha's Kalyāṇakāraka (1175 A.D.),[1] Kīrtivarman's Gōvaidya[2] (1100 A.D.) and Rājāditya's Vyavahāragaṇita[3] (1197 A.D.) are some of the treasures that bear eloquent testimony to the fact that love of Humanities had not made the Kannadigas of the Middle Ages oblivious of their devotion to Sciences. It is a great pity that none of these ancient scientific works in Kannada has yet seen the light of day and it is more distressing to note that it may not be worthwhile to take up some of them for publication, as they are beyond the pale of restoration due to the manuscripts being incomplete and at some places moth-eaten.

In the course of this article it is proposed to give a short account of Rājāditya's Vyavahāragaṇita so that the mathematical knowledge possessed by the Kannadigas of the 12th century may be fairly judged. The author of the work is one Rājāditya of Pūvina Bāge in Kunda Maṇḍala which place it is very difficult to locate now. Nowhere in the work has he mentioned his date. He has neither mentioned the name of any poet that preceded him nor poets came after him have mentioned his name. As such the fixing of his date is extremely difficult. However there are problems in his text which throw some

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[1] A work on Indian medicine.

[2] A work on Veterinary Science.

[3] A work on Mathematics.

—All these works are written in verse—a rare combination of poetic skill and scientific knowledge.

light on contemporary events such as the Battle of Soratūr, names of the Commander Billama, Vishṇu Nṛipāla and Guru Shubha Chandra which have enabled scholars to fix the date of the work as 1197. It is said that Rajaditya wrote Vyavahāragaṇita, Kshētragaṇita, Vyavahāraratna, Līlāvatī and Jainagaṇita Sūtraṭīkōdāharaṇa Not one of these works has been obtained complete. The manuscript of 'Vyavahāragaṇita' available in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library is incomplete and looks like a disconnected jumbling of the portion of the various works of Rājāditya. We find included in it some parts of Kshētragaṇita also.

The work is not a very ambitious one and does not deal with Advanced Mathematics. Perhaps Līlāvati and Jainagaṇita Sūtraṭīkōdāharaṇa whose manuscripts are not available might be the author's work on Advanced Mathematics. For it is quite probable that the author named his advanced treatise as LILĀVATĪ after the name of the great work of India's great Mathematician, Bhāskara, who flourished in the 12th century. 'Vyavahāragaṇita' as the name suggests is Practical Mathematics and in the manuscript now found we come across the following sections :—

(*i*) Technical Terms and Tables.
(*ii*) Proportionate Division.
(*iii*) Proportion—both direct and inverse.
(*iv*) Mixtures.
(*v*) Interest.
(*vi*) Profit and Loss.
(*vii*) Discount.
(*viii*) Time and Distance.
(*ix*) Mensuration of Simple Geometric Figures.

In the treatment of his subject, Rājāditya first of all enunciates a Rule (Sūtra) which is followed by problems. Rules and problems are in verse. Then a brief analysis

of the problem together with the answer comes next. Lastly there is a clear statement in prose explaining the manipulation.

In the first chapter after mentioning a few technical terms, Rājāditya gives the tables relating to length, area, volume, weight, measures and coins that were in vogue in those days in the Kannada country. Some of the tables are detailed below. (In one of the stanzas he says that the tables vary from locality to locality).

Lengths.

12 finger	1 gēṇ (span)
2 gēṇ	1 moḷa
4 moḷa	1 daṇḍa
200 daṇḍa	1 krōśa
4 krōśa	1 yojana.

Measures.

4 gidd	1 sollage
4 sollage	1 māna
4 māna	1 baḷḷā
4 baḷḷa	1 koḷaga
20 koḷaga	1 khaṇḍaga

Weights

8 Bēle	1 paṇa
16 paṇa	1 vīsa

Time

60 galige	1 day
30 days	1 month
12 months	1 year

Coinage

4 kāṇi	1 visa
5 visa	1 hāga
4 hāga	1 paṇa
10 paṇa	1 gadyāṇa

In another stanza he gives

4 suvarṇa	1 karsha
4 karsha	1 pala
20 palas	1 tola
20 tola	1 bhara

Proportion :

He calls proportion by the name Trai-Rāśika, Pañca-Rāśika, etc., and gives the rule (sūtra) for the operation of Trai-Rāśika.

Rule : Multiply the middle term by the last and divide by the first.

Then follow a number of examples of graded difficulty.

Q. 1. For 12 gadyāṇa's we can get 200 khanduga of paddy

For 300"

Answer is $\frac{200 \times 300}{12} = 5000$ Khandugas.

So on . . . .

Among these questions there is one which requires some knowledge of the sum of the natural numbers.

Q. 2. A man employs men to look after 108 elephants on the understanding that they will be paid at the rate of 1 gadyāṇa a day for 108 heads. But the owner goes on selling an elephant each day. When at the end of 25 days the workmen refuse to proceed with the work, Bhāskara tell me how the account stands?

Analysis : 1 day.—elephants 108—wages per day—1 gadyana.

No. of elephants sold each day is 1, at this rate for 25 days the amount due is 22 and odd gadyanas. (22 – 2 – 4).

Explanation :

Add one to the original number of elephants, *i.e.*, 108 + 1 = 109. This, multiplied by (the no. of days of watch) 25, *i.e.*, 2725. Keep this aside. Square the no. of days 25, *i.e.*, 625. Add 25, *i.e.*, 650 and half the

result, *i.e.*, 325. Subtract this from the previous 2725. The balance is 2400. Divide this (2400) by the number of elephants (108). You get the amount due.

Here is a bit of ingenuity that deserves notice. The effective number of elephants are to be taken into account. They are 108, 107, 106, 105 . . . . 86, 85, 84, elephants for one day. The sum of this series is to be got. He takes $109+109+109 \ldots . +109$ to 25 terms, instead of $108+107+106 \ldots 85+84$ to 25 terms, which means he has taken $1+2+3+4 \ldots 24+25$ elephants more. Hence the required sum $=(109\times 25)-(1+2+3+4 \ldots . +25)$. Now he gives the formula for the sum of the first 25, natural numbers : $1+2+3+4 \ldots . +25$ as $\frac{25^2+25}{2}$ which expressed symbolically becomes the formula for the sum of the first 'n' natural numbers $\frac{n^2+n}{2}$ or $\frac{n(n+1)}{2}$ Hence the required number of elephants $=2725-325=2400$. The rest is easy, being ordinary proportion.

Elephant	Gadyāṇa
108	1
2400	Answer—22 – 2 – 4.

It takes so much time to explain but is quite easily workable once the principle is grasped. However, it is to be noted that he did not indicate the Arithmetic Progression formula $S=\frac{n}{2}(a+l)$.

There are several questions of this type.

There are several questions in mixtures and alloys: *e.g.*

Q. 3. 8 gadyāṇas of $12\frac{1}{2}$ carats are mixed together with 12 gadyanas of $7\frac{1}{2}$ carats. What is the fineness of the resulting mixture?

Clear Analysis :

Convert $12\frac{1}{2}$ ct into haga (quarters) ... 50

Multiply by its weight 8 g : Product ... 400 units.

Convert $7\frac{1}{2}$ ct into haga (quarter) ... 30

Multiply it by its weight 12 g : Product ... 360 units.

Total units ... 760.

Total weight ... 20 g.

Therefore fineness in hagas 38 or 9·5 ct. $\left(\frac{38}{4}\right)$

This is the way in which such problems are taught in a modern class room (except the 'haga' step, *i.e.*, converting the carat into quarters).

Then in a beautiful verse he lays down the procedure to be adopted in finding out the fineness of a specimen of gold of known quantity which is an ingredient in an alloy with other ingredients of known quantity and fineness, when the fineness of the resulting mixture is given.

SŪTRA : Add the weights of all the ingredients, multiply this sum by the number indicating the fineness of the mixture. Call the result (a). Multiply the number indicating the fineness of the other known ingredients by their respective quantities. Add these. Let the sum be (b). From (a) subtract (b). Divide this balance by the weight whose fineness is not known. The quotient is the fineness required.

Q. 4. Then a problem on that is given :—

Carat	01	14	?	The resulting fine-
Gadyāṇa	17	7	16	ness is 12 ct.

What is the fineness of the third specimen? Ans. $13\frac{1}{4}$ ct.

There are questions on Proportion Direct and Inverse.

Q. 5. DIRECT : 2000 arecanuts cost 3 paṇas.

300000 ,,

Ans. $49\frac{1}{2}$ gadyana.

Q. 6. INVERSE :

A horse of age 4 years costs 4000 gadyanas.

What will be the cost of a horse of age 14 years?

$$4/14 \times 4000 = 1142\tfrac{6}{7} \text{ gadyanas.}$$

Then there are several questions on Profit and Loss and Interest.

We can come across interesting questions that require keen intellect and clear thinking: *e.g.*

Q. 7. Two goats bring forth two kids each every year, and every kid brings forth two kids every year. At this rate, what will be the total number of goats at the end of seven years.

With the help of clear reasoning he has arrived at the result $2 \times 2187 = 4374$.

He takes into account one goat first:

One goat brings forth 2 kids in the first year:

Total for the first year is $1+2=3$ (which is 3^1).

In the second year these three bring forth 6.

Hence the total for the second year is $3+6=9$ (which is 3^2).

Thus add, multiply, and proceed. You would not miss.

This is nothing but 2×3^7.

Such examples will undoubtedly sharpen the intellect and enable the student to analyse and reason out.

Various interesting questions are given under proportionate division.

Q. 8. Three graziers put in 30, 10 and 16 horses in a pasture for 22, 20 and 15 days respectively and pay in all 22 gadyanas. What will be the share of each?

Analysis :

horses :	30	10	16	Total cost 22 gadyanas.
days	22	20	15	Ans : 13·2; 4, 4·8

Scholars had been so very engrossed with the study of Mathematics and formulating laws after an inductive study, that they took pains to count the number of seeds in various fruits and arrive at a formula for calculating the number of seeds inside them. This only bears testimony to the people's noble employment of leisure.

Rule to find the number of seeds in a certain kind of fruit.

Multiply the number of bold stripes on the outer surface of the fruit by 88, you get the number of seeds.

Q. 9. Illustration: In a fruit having 9 stripes, the number of seeds is $88 \times 9 = 792$.

Mensuration of Simple Geometric Figures.

Formulae for the mensuration of some simple geometric figures have been given by Rājāditya.

(1) *AREA OF CIRCLE* : *Rule* : Measure the circumference of the circular plot. Leave off half. Take the other half and halve it again (*i.e.*, $\frac{1}{4}$th circumference and $\frac{1}{4}$th circumference).

Now multiply one by the other. The area (kambha) is got.

The above formula expressed in modern terminology is this :

$$\bar{A} = \frac{1}{4} O^{ce} \times \frac{1}{4} G^{ce}$$

$$= \frac{1}{4} \times 2\pi r \times \frac{1}{4} \times 2\pi r$$

$$= \frac{\pi^2}{} r^2$$

$$= \frac{\pi}{4} \times \pi r^2 \text{ which is roughly } \pi r^2 \text{ (error of about 21\%)}$$

(2) *AREA OF A TRIANGLE*:

Rule: For the triangular plot measure the vertical line between the two long sides. Multiply this by half the short side (evidently the third side). Is this not our famous formula $A = \frac{1}{2}$ base $\times$ altitude?

Some of the foregoing examples throw a flood of light on the considerable mathematical knowledge attained by the people of Karnataka of the 12th century. In addition to their knowledge of the very essential practical Mathematics consisting of the four fundamental operations of Addition, Subtraction, Multiplication and Division and their applications, they were conversant with simple summation of series, formulae for the mensuration of geometric figures, etc. Another important point that is noteworthy is that almost all the problems are of practical interest and are projected on the back-ground of life-situations. The beautiful problems provide a glimpse into the conditions obtaining in the Karnataka of the 12th century. Some historical incidents such as the Battle of Soratūr (1191) between the Hoysaḷas and the Sēvuṇas had supplied Rājāditya data for constructing problems of topical interest and incidentally such problems today serve to illumine a page of History. By the introduction of kings, queens, agriculturists, traders and labourers, ponds, gardens, fields and the multitudinous products of the land, the otherwise dry-as-dust subject is made extremely interesting and hence the human aspect of the subject is not lost sight of. We have every

reason to believe that business flourished. There were suitable means of communications. We come across examples wherein ships are described as carrying cargo which fact can credit the people of those days with having carried on a certain amount of coastal trade also. Paddy, arecanuts, pepper and coconut are the main commodities referred to in the problems. From one of the problems cited above, we can gather that arecanut used to fetch a very decent price.[1]

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[1] 300,000 areca nuts price is said to be $49\frac{1}{2}$ gadyanas. Taking that 2,000 arecanuts go to make our modern maund, we have $\frac{300,000}{2000}$ i.e., 150 maunds cost 150 sovereigns nearly, which will work out at about Rs. 100/- per candy (which is practically the pre-war rate).

A TRAVELLER'S IMPRESSIONS OF HINDU-BUDDHIST RUINS IN CAMBODIAN CHINA.

BY

PAUL BRUNTON, PH. D.

Once the Cambodian-China border is crossed, the autocar speeds for hours across flat colourless country until at last it follows a road cut through dense entangled forest Monkeys leap from branch to branch and scowl irritably at our intrusion. Then night falls, the birds cease their short cries, the jackals end their long howls, the cicadas drop their brittle chirping and the foxes call no more to their cubs. All-embracing silence entombs the jungle's diurnal noises.

The quietude lengthens. In this darkness the wheels must run more slowly. And after the moon's arc rises triumphantly in the sky and countless stars have appeared to keep it company, there break suddenly upon my straining eyes the shadowy silhouettes of prodigiously-tall towered buildings. Their heads top the forest trees abruptly and are spread out over a wide area.

The lonely jungle road leads for miles through uninhabited and uncleared tracts, and then without warning skirts these gigantic deserted monuments of a dead city that once held a million living men and women.

These vast ruins of Angkor lay forgotten in their hidden lair amongst virgin vegetation, until not much more than two generations ago. Then they were discovered accidentally by Mouhot, the French naturalist-hunter, whilst collecting specimens of tigers, leopards and apes for scientific purposes. Even so it was not till the opening years of the twentieth century that European hunters of lost Asiatic culture were able to set to work in real earnest. They dug

out of their tombs in the soft red North Cambodian soil these dulled architectural gems which had been waiting for time and man to disinter them.

Where the four main roads of the vanished town converged on a common centre, there stood and still stands the amazing temple of Bayon. Where on this world's surface exists another precisely like it? Grim, grotesque, fantastic, monstrous ultra-primitive, benign, or beatific—each on looker interprets at his will and carries away a different impression according to his taste, temperament and knowledge. For the first eye-arresting features of the Bayon are four titanic heads which are repeatedly carved on every one of the fifty domed towers which themselves rise about fifty feet into the air above the corridors they crown, except the central summit which is nearly one hundred feet higher still. Each of the four giants' faces varies but slightly from the other in its tremendously powerful expression. The grandiose features are heavy, the full cheeks and thick lips, the large flat semi-negroid nose belong to a type of race which is neither Mongol nor Aryan but to my mind, definitely Dravidian. The general effect of these domes with unfamiliar human visages is to bring me back again to Egypt, to set me down once more within the sandy precinct of the colourful Sphinx.

Forest, brush and creeper still half hold the Bayon in their grasp. As in so many other important Oriental temples, the side which greets the dawning sun is the most honoured; so here the entrance is wider, the stone steps more numerous, and a specially decorative setting of lion-guards and serpent-balustrades greets the visittor. The sandstone lions half-squat on their hind legs angrily and show their teeth. Carvings are everywhere, on pillars, walls and porticoes. Life-like pictures represent the home, market place, battlefield and sports ground; the pleasures and histories of kings and commoners—the world of ordinary

everyday life of a people whose close-cropped hair and distinctive features label them as the Khmers. That there is a definite plan behind this arrangement of themes become clear when I ascend to the second storey, where the scenes change their character and unroll a beautiful tableau of religious story and mythical incident from the Hindu epic "The Ramayana."

I wander out of the sanctuary through a door which opens on a high-vaulted passage and proceed thence through antechambers and porches till I find the friendly light in a carved stone window. Here I stand for awhile to survey the forest and jungle remnants of the city wall and its gates. The encircling road alone is about sixteen miles in length. A medieval Imperial Chinese envoy to the Cambodian Court estimated the population of the town as being not less than one million inhabitants. Caesar's Rome was smaller and less populous. The lightly-built wood, grass and mud cottages of the common herd have disappeared into dust to-day under the attack of strong winds, rains and sun, but I see numerous relics of larger stone buildings profusely piled—palaces, temples, royal terraces and monasteries—which have withstood the action of time since the rest of the town was abandoned to the invasion of thick forest trees and thorny jungle bushes. Angkor is now a dead city and tropical torpor holds these half-buried monuments in its paralysing arms.

The most marked feature of the Bayon—the four gigantic mask-like faces which adorn each of the other domes as well as the central cupola itself, totalling two hundred heads and altogether appearing like an assembly of the gods—what do they mean? Archaeologists at different dates have named them Siva, Brahma, Lokesvara and Buddha. All these have indeed been honoured or worshipped in ancient Cambodia by turns.

On a man-made hill is the battered and broken fragment of the main porch of a thousand-year old pyramidal house of God—the Baphuon, which came second in importance to the Bayon and therefore received much of the best efforts of Khmer artists and architects. Tcheou-Ta-Kwan, the Chinese scholar, visited Angkor during the thirteenth century and mentions the Baphuon in his diary as providing one of the most impressive views in the city. But fate and time brought medieval invading troops from east and west, from Annam and Siam who, brutalised by the passions of war, desecrated the flower-filled gardens in its tranquil courts and dismembered the stone blocks of its rising tiers and turrets. Yet enough of its charm remains to attract me inside.

This four-hundred foot long building is simpler than the Bayon and similar in possessing three lofty storeys, several towers and a central dome covering the chief sanctuary. But the motif of the faces of four gods is entirely absent here. I climb the ancient stone steps and make my passage along a terrace which leads to a broken gallery pathetically lined with leaning and half-tumbled columns. Little yellow lizards with long tails stuck upright in the air fix their quaint gaze at me. Blue and gold-coloured butterflies cross and re-cross the deserted thresholds. Vegetation has forced its way into the building, but its invasion now holds firmly together what the earlier human invaders had endeavoured to tear apart. Giant tortuous banyan and fig trees imprison floors and walls and terraces—even the summits of half-tottering towers—in their monstrously thick roots and creeping branches of white wood. Such is their tremendous strength and age that these tentacles cannot be pulled away and they appear to have embedded themselves in the very stones.

Thus both man and Nature have tried to squeeze and crush the body of the Baphuon like serpents attacking a

defenceless beast. They have maimed it but the soul is still untouched, the majestic atmosphere remains, the superb carvings of the sacred epic of Rama, the divine avatar, done in low relief on plain panels are unforgettable, whilst inside the austere holy of holies the haunting echo of its best days withdraws my mind into a state of unearthly felicity.

Yet I leave the Baphuon with the depressing memory of that terribly significant verse penned by the poetic Tent-Maker of Naishapur :

"They say the Lion and the Lizard keep
The Courts where Jamshed gloried and drunk deep;
And Bahram, that great Hunter—
The Wild Ass stamps o'er his Head,
But cannot break his Sleep".

As if to impress the lesson of these lines I find the adjoining ruins to be those of the vast royal palace, which is enclosed within a wall two-thousand feet long. Its one-time luxury is now mocked by the few cows and buffaloes which wander lazily to feed on the grass that grows around its fallen stones. Almond-eyed Tcheou-Ta-Kwan saw window frames made of solid gold when he sat in the palace audience chamber nearly seven hundred years ago but I, alas! perceive only crumbling grey walls and aimless wandering ghosts.

A great paved platform, shaped like a gigantic fallen cross, suddenly thrusts itself up amongst all this tangled forest of slender areca-palms, dark banana trees and feathered doco-groves whose foliage hems me in like an encircling wall. A sandstone stela still remains to tell unwittingly the mournful story of life's impermanence. It is carved with lengthy inscriptions which cover each of the four sides in the usual style of the country. Two

languages are used, the one Sanskrit and the other, old Khmer. It bears a thousand-year old date and narrates the foundation by king Yasovarman of the Buddhist monastery of Tep Pranam which stood upon this platform. The refuge was clearly a wooden and brick structure for nothing at all remains to-day; the monastic hall has crumbled into dust, the monk's houses have vanished and their little chapel is as dead as themselves.

Yet one thing was not made of such perishable stuff and has therefore lived to appear to modern gaze. It is an enormous isolated statue of the teacher Gautama, well preserved and calmly defiant of the test of time. Some pious living monks of the neighbourhood have built a tiled roof to protect the enduring granite of their Master's head, but their act seems more a gesture of reverence than one of need. The woolly curls of hair are arranged, according to the stiff conventional fashion, in regular rows all over the Buddha's head. The cotton monk's robe hangs tightly and assumes the mould of the body's lines. The mild gently-expressive stone lips speak to me silently with a message that comes like an unexpected voice out of the Infinite. The legs are crossed upon a lotus-shaped throne. The left palm is placed on the folded knees, but the fingers of the right hand point downwards, for Gautama is thus symbolically taking the whole earth as a witness that Nirvana has truly been attained, that the baffling mystery of the finite ego has been solved.

The Wat is the best preserved and the least ruined of all the Khmer fanes. I pass under the pediment and project a torch light upon the carvings of men, beasts and gods which ornament the wall in crowds. Here are fragments of the old Indian epics unrolled as storied tableaux whilst I walk. They run in a continuous frieze, not in panels, and bear the appearance of time-blackened tapestry. And they run for not less than half a mile

around the temple. The Cambodian sculptors clearly worked on these walls after the blocks were already in position. They cut delicately and shallowly into the fine sandstone to make these polished low reliefs and they worked so hard that hardly any available surface was left untouched. Valmiki's verse is re-inscribed here as a wordless mural and appears in a tumultous profusion of chiselled pictures, once painted and gilded but now bereft of all original colouring. The Mahabharata and the Harivamsa are here too. I observe the familiar faces of ancient gods—Yama and Siva and Surya and Vishnu. A vestibule leads to open courtyards, alleys and shrines. In one sanctuary an assemblage of many statues lies scattered; it is the Shrine of the Thousand Buddhas. The place is torpid; environed by vague silence and undefined sadness.

At its farthest end is the penumbral shrine, the holy of holies of Angkor Wat, placed as in all Khmer-built fanes in the precise centre of the topmost tier. Over its head rears the sumptuously ornamented central cupola, two hundred feet high and shaped like a delicate lotus bud. The Chinese envoy who visited Angkor more than seven hundred years ago, found the tower covered with gold and noticed that its gleaming height could be seen from any point in the vanished town.

Other wanderings on other days bring me to many ruins which lie within and beyond Angkor. Hundreds of miles away there still remain imprisoned in the jungle which spreads with such swift and extraordinary abundance here, many scattered ruins of this lost Khmer world. But I must keep my pen within the bounds of Angkor and tell briefly of two more places that impress themselves upon memory. The first is a group of old buildings, the Ta prohm, whose ruins the sun has burned for eight hundred years. Here a mossy Buddhist temple, a crumbling house

and a treasure depository combine with invading forest to present a truly picturesque scene. The builders were wise enough to put up an inscription from which one may read that more than forty thousand precious stones were kept in the treasury and that no less then two thousand resident priests officiated in the rites. The grounds are encumbered with thickly-growing tropical vegetation, with half-buried displaced blocks of stone, with limbless statues, carved fragments and mere rubbish. A figure of the dying Buddha lies on the grass-grown paved floor. A stray chink of light caresses his brow. The silent sage rests in his final meditation.

When the inhabitants fled from endangered Angkor the city deserted by men began to be inhabited by Nature. White ants, dampness and heat gradually destroyed the wooden homes which survived the invaders' fires. Finally vegetation wrestled with stones—and won. The leafy bo—tree, octopus-like, a yard in girth, now creeps slowly to certain victory over most buildings in Ta prohm, insinuating its ashen-white paper-thin roots between stones and around columns. They grow, extend and thicken into masterly rulers and handsome jailers who hold the structures in their grasp.

At Pre Rup is a grandiose temple topped by a terraced pyrămid and stretched on an elaborate base four hundred feet long. A long flight of wide steps intimidate me with their steepness, but once climbed I stroll between carved goddesses into a shrine of the pyramid. A couple of lacquered Buddhas fit with some uneasiness into this Brahmaniclly-styled fane. The sun, which gleams so weakly near the forest-filled horizon, has passed eleven hundred times around the Zodiacal circle since Pre Rup was planned. A few broken standing columns alone remain of the sanctuary in which a royal sarcophagus was confined and guarded. The queer Khmer roof famed for

its tortuous jutting horned cornices set at odd angles, has vanished and the centuries of mystic rites with it. I leave through a doorway fringed with creepers and bearded with moss. The air of neglected loneliness lies pathetically on this place, now abandoned to snakes which hide in dark holes and to centipedes which creep under mossy stones.

Such is the city of ruins which I find in Northern Cambodia; but seven centuries ago the capital of a great empire and now silhouetted on the nightly horizon of tigers when they emerge from their diurnal sleep.

I turn my steps away, conscious that these silent monuments are not so silent after all. Their own fallen grandeur constitutes a solemn warning to every modern civilization which would pin its happiness within the circumscribed limits of a sensuous life alone. They have spoken too in their own mysterious way of that ultimate reality which, once glimpsed intuited or affirmed for even a moment, explains to man why he is really here on earth, what is the glorious task which he has to accomplish and whither he must look to gain a true profit from his passage through the tribulations and temptations of his all-too-brief existence. This is the final message of Angkor.

THE ATTRIBUTION OF ANCIENT INDIAN COINS.

BY

SIR RICHARD BURN, I.C.S. (RETD.), OXFORD.

It is often advantageous to look back on the history of a study, to reflect on the errors which were made in the early stages and to examine our own procedure in the light of that experience. Some recent speculations and theories make such a practice desirable if we are to proceed on right lines in the history of ancient Indian coinage.

An early attempt to decipher an Indian coin was made in 1808 when a gold coin purchased by Lord Valentia in Lucknow was shown at a meeting of the Royal Society of Antiquaries in London. From the plate we can now recognise it as a coin of Huvishka with the reverse of MIIPO.[1] Dr. Weston who read a paper on it recognised that the reverse inscription was in Greek. Probably the obverse was rather worn as he thought that the inscription on that side should be read from right to left, and he took the mint mark on the reverse as two Greek letters standing for 215 which he interpreted as a date in the Parthian era equivalent to 96 B.C. On the basis of this date and a fancied resemblance between the head-dress of the Ruler on the obverse to that of a figure on a coin of another series, Dr. Weston assigned it to a king of Edessa in Mesopotamia. The only item in which he was nearly correct was his reading of the reverse as MIPPO (instead of MIIPO or MIOPO) and in comparing this with the Persian Mihr meaning Sun.

In 1808 three silver punch-marked coins were sent to the same Society which had been found by Colonel Caldwell

[1] Punjab Catalogue Pl. XVIII, No. 117.

in a tumulus in the Coimbatore District about 1800. These were examined by R. Payne Knight, a celebrated numismatist, in a paper read in 1822. The coins were worn and he could recognise only the figure of a sun. While Mr. Knight thought they were possibly "the most ancient and primitive specimens of money extant" he thought it "vain to offer any conjecture concerning their date or to seek for any accounts of the nation, by which they were fabricated or employed". His caution was wise in view of the ignorance of Ancient Indian History which then prevailed in Europe.

Mr. Knight also examined some of the large find of gold Gupta coins made about 1783 at Kalighat, ten miles from Calcutta, specimens of which were sent by Warren Hastings to the East India Company in London. He thought they were imitations of Greek coins. Marsden, however, in his *Numismata Orientalia* published in 1823, who figured several of these coins, successfully read the name Chandra and the title Śri Vikrama. Probably he was helped by Charles Wilkins, who had been successful in deciphering an inscription of the Gupta period many years before, though his readings had been neglected. It is of some interest to note as an example of accurate work in engraving at that time that coin No. MLI, which Marsden read as Chandra also, and which was deciphered in the same way in the British Museum Catalogue (1914, p. 144 and Pl. XXIII 617) is now clearly seen to be a coin of Vainyagupta. The correct reading was first pointed out by D.C. Ganguly (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, IX, p. 784). Marsden guessed the date of these coins to be about the fourth century A.D., but his reasoning was based on material which would now be rejected.

In 1814 the Asiatic Society of Bengal began to form a museum, one class of exhibits being coins. Dr. Unvala has recently complained that "every antiquity found in

work on Rajasthan, though published in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society* stimulated the study, especially of the Bactrian series. Some of Tod's coins, and many duplicates of the large collection made by Colonel Mackenzie in Southern India were presented to the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and a paper was contributed to Asiatic Researches Vol. XVII by H. H. Wilson on the collection as it stood in 1832. The plates which illustrate this paper were drawn by James Prinsep who was Wilson's assistant in the Calcutta Mint and engraved by Kashi Nath. The excellence of both drawing and engraving enable us to identify most of the coins. At that stage neither Wilson nor Prinsep could make much of the early series, which included the great Kushans, the later Kushans, the Guptas, and some coins of Kashmir. Wilson thought the letters on the Kushan coins resembled Greek but was less successful in reading any than Weston had been. On the reverse of a coin of Samudra Gupta (Standard Type) he recognised *pa ra* and *ka* but could not complete the word *parākramaḥ*, and made nothing of the obverse. On a coin of Chandra Gupta II (Archer Type) he notes that Tod had included several similar specimens in his paper which Charles Wilkins had assigned to a Chandra. Wilson thought the last two syllables on the obverse might be Gupta, but the letters preceding were more like Nara. No body except Marsden had realised that the name was written in a perpendicular fashion. On the reverse of a coin of Prakāśāditya Wilson suggested Śrī Praki for Śrī Prakā (Śāditya) and thought the reading might be Sri Prakirtti. Coins of the Yaudheyas could not be read at all, and two square copper cast coins, with no inscriptions, like B.M.C., p. 88, variety j, Plate XI—9 were thought probably to be the coins of some Hindu prince of Oude, in a comparatively recent period.

With mediaeval coins Wilson was more successful,

reading Sri Mad Deva (for Ádi) Varāha on coins of Bhoja Deva (though without the attribution) and Śrī Mad Govinda Chandra on the coins of the ruler of Kanauj.

These results, after the existence of the Society for 50 years, may appear barren, but one or two hints may be obtained from them. The first, which many of us have neglected, is that the find spots were carefully recorded when known. Next comes the accuracy with which the drawings were made, and the descriptions were given, and lastly may be noted the sobriety of conjecture in the absence of material relating to the history. Far more progress had been made with the identification of Muslim coins because Persian and Arabic annals were available to check the readings of the inscriptions as Marsden's great work "*Numismata Orientalia*" shows.

These two papers by Tod and Wilson had a great effect in stimulating interest in Indian coins. It was natural that the Bactrian, Saka and Pahlava series drew most attention at first as the Greek and Latin historians gave information about a few rulers whose names could be read. In particular, James Prinsep who in 1832 succeeded Wilson as Assay Master of the Mint and as Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, began his great work in epigraphy and archaeology. Papers on inscriptions from all parts of India were being received for the Society's Journal and Prinsep as Secretary made it his task to check these carefully with the rubbings or drawings which accompanied them. In 1833 he read the inscription on a coin of Kanishka, taking the name as Kanerkas,[3] and suggested that this was the ruler mentioned in the *Rajtaraṅgiṇī* among the rulers of Kashmir.

An inscription of the Gupta period had been successfully read by Charles Wilkins fifty years earlier but

[3] The identification of the Greek letter *Sh* which resembles *r* came much later.

epigraphy had then been neglected for other studies. It was again pursued and between 1834 and 1838 when many of the important Gupta inscriptions were interpreted by Burt, Troyer, Mill and Prinsep. In 1837 Prinsep first began to recognise the value of the letters in the Asoka inscriptions, and thus found the key to read the Brāhmī of the most ancient inscribed coins. His success with Kharoshṭhī began a year later.

In 1834 he was still unable to read coins of the Kuṇindas and Yaudheyas found at Behat in the Saharanpur District, and Saurashtra and Gupta silver from Kanauj. His attempt to read a Gupta gold coin of Kumāra Gupta was also not successful. As an example of the mistakes made at that time by more rash persons it may be noted that Major Stacy, reading a Sibi coin upside down thought he recognised the Greek word Soter. A year later Prinsep had made progress in reading the marginal inscriptions on Gupta coins and had shown that their style indicated that they followed the Indo-Scythic rulers but were purely Indian in execution. He also gave a warning against indiscriminate faith in the authority of bards and panegyrists. "We must then maintain a thorough independence of all such traditionary documents [sc. Tod's genealogical lists], and adhere in preference to the faithful evidence of monuments and coins." He showed how the names read on the Gupta coins harmonised with those in the Gupta inscriptions and in a later paper found similar harmony between the mediaeval Rajput series and inscriptions, some of which had already been deciphered by Wilson. Names on some of the Saurashtra coins were also correctly read, though the title *Kshatrapa* was thought to be *Kritrima* and interpreted as 'elected' or 'adopted', *i.e.*, by the people. Prinsep's general accuracy is confirmed by the fact that he read this word correctly in the first place, but being modest about his own

knowledge of Sanskrit accepted the assurance of the Pandit who helped him that the title *Kshatrapa* was unknown in Sanskrit. The correct reading appeared beyond doubt from the Girnar inscription.

After reading the earliest Brahmi inscriptions Prinsep made the first attempt to identify numerals and read the names correctly on some of the Mathura coins without attempting to assign them to any particular dynasty. In this as well as in the working out of the *Kharoshṭhī* script Prinsep was helped by Cunningham, then (1836) a young Engineer Officer. Unlike Prinsep, who was stationed first at Benares and then at Calcutta, Cunningham's duties enabled him to tour, and it is to his careful record of places, where he collected coins, that correct attributions became possible. His work, partly contributed to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* of Bengal and partly to the *Numismatic Chronicle*, is summed up in his *Coins of Ancient India* (1891). Cunningham had greater opportunities of accumulating correct information during fifty years than any other collector has had, for his official duties as an Engineer took him to many parts of India, and after retiring from that service in 1861 he was employed in Archaeological survey work from 1863 till 1880.

Many years ago at a meeting of the Royal Numismatic Society when the attribution of an ancient Greek coin was under discussion and stress was laid on the place where it was found, an old experienced Fellow said he wished somebody would write a paper on coins found where they ought not to be. The find-spot of a single coin or even of a hoard is by itself not always reliable evidence on which to base conclusions regarding the kingdom of the striker. But when coins of a particular class turn up year after year at an ancient site or in villages which may reasonably be thought to have been included in the realm to which the ancient site belongs, more certain conclusions can be formed,

Cunningham's attributions were based on evidence of that kind. My own experience from 1894 to 1926 was chiefly in the United Provinces, so my remarks relate chiefly to the series which Cunningham describes as Kosambi, Panchala, Mathura, Ayodhya, and perhaps Yaudheya. It must, of course, be remembered that coins pass from hand to hand and from place to place, and also that since the spread of railways in India, and the greater opportunity of travel owing to long settled Government, movement is greater than in the years before the Christian era. The late M. Hackin in a most illuminating article on the distribution of find-spots of ancient coins in Afghanistan (*Journal Asiatique*, Vol. 226, pp. 287—292) lays great stress on this. His tours began in 1924 when there were practically no metalled roads in that country and no motor traffic, and were continued in 1929-30, 1931 and 1933. He noted that by the last year coins were coming into Kabul and it was difficult to trace their provenance. Cunningham notes (*Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 114—5) that many ancient coins of Nepal were obtained in Kashmir, and his own specimens were bought at Benares and Gaya or dug up in votive stupas at Buddha Gaya. The first Kashmir coin that came to me was bought in the Mathura bazar. As Cunningham suggests, even in early days pilgrims must have taken their current coins when they visited holy sites and temples. Such examples and early hypotheses based on insufficient data have led to mistakes. As most of the Gupta coins first collected were found or purchased at Kanauj it was long believed that that was the Capital of the Gupta Empire. An early mistake of Cunningham's has led Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha astray. Cunningham (J.A.S.B. 1865, p. 125) published a coin he obtained at Narwar and read the name as Sri Guhilapati. On other coins he read the name Pasupati which he took to be that of a son of Toramāṇa

the White Hun. Carlleyle (Arch. Survey Reports, IV, pp. 95—6), thought he could read Sri Guhila on 2,000 silver coins found near Agra in 1869. On this evidence Ojha (*History of Rajputana*, I, p. 400) argues that after the fall of Mihirakula the Gahlot rulers extended their sway nearly to Agra. But the plate in Cunningham's article shows that the two coins referred to are really coins of Nepal, one being a coin of Gunangka. Neither Carlleyle nor Cunningham seems to have published the Agra find. The British Museum received 70 silver coins from Cunningham which may belong to the find, but the reading of the five letters on them is quite uncertain, and Dr. H. C. Ray (*Dynastic History of N. India*, p. 1164, no. 3) is rightly cautious. It is certainly desirable and even necessary if knowledge is to advance that theories should be formed as to the effect of new discoveries, but care must be taken not to violate the facts. Cunningham's conclusions in his book of 1891 are the result of long thought and wide experience and should not lightly be rejected. Most of them were accepted by E. J. Rapson (*Indian Coins*, 1897) and are confirmed by John Allan (*British Museum Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India*, 1936) who worked over the British Museum collection which includes most of Cunningham's. Where Cunningham did make a palpable blunder in including a coin of the Kosambi series in a plate of Panchala coins (C.A.I., pl.VII—18) he felt there was something wrong about it (*ib.* p. 83).

Cunningham's mature opinion was that the coins of N. Panchala were struck by a local dynasty (*C.A.I.* p. 79) and this is borne out by the fact that they are rarely found elsewhere. Carlleyle, who said that he obtained large numbers in the Basti district, is not so reliable an authority though it is of course quite possible that coins were carried so far. A similar argument applies to the coins of Mathura, but there we have to consider two series. One

of these belongs to a line of Hindu rulers who reigned probably before Menander penetrated the United Provinces. After the Indo-Scythians came into this part of the country coins were struck by Satraps with non-Indian names and more rarely by two at least with Hindu names.

For Ajodhya also we have two series, the earlier square in shape and cast and then probably struck, and a later round series. Kosambi coins, chiefly found in the lower Doab, begin with cast coins at first uninscribed and rarely with the name of the country. These are followed by inscribed coins earlier than the Christian era, which seem to be followed, possibly a couple of centuries later, by a fresh series. It seems to me probable that the break was caused by the Kushan invasion of the Doab. Some light was thrown on the question under discussion by the excavations at Bhita in the Allahabad District conducted by Sir John Marshall (Arch. Surv. India, Report 1911—2, pp 62 and 99). The ancient coins found may be summarised as follows:—

Almost all are copper.

Punchmarked	2	Ayodhya	3
Kuṇinda	1	Kushan	27 (+3 clay impressions of gold coins)
Kosambi	70	Andhra	2 (lead)
Anonymous cast—			
circular	2		
rect.	7		
Janapada (?)	1	Kalinga	1.

A comparison of the numbers shows clearly that these early coinages of Ayodhya and Kosambi were local and issued by small States, and it may also be inferred that the Kushan period intervened between the early Kosambi series assigned by Allan (B.M.C. pp. 148—153)

to the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. and those of the early Christian era (pp. 153—8).

We are now in a position to date some of the latter series more closely owing to the discovery of names on coins which can plausibly be identified with names in dated inscriptions. The first suggestion of this was due to Mr. Krishna Deva who pointed out to the late N. G. Majumdar that the name of Vaiśravaṇa whose inscription from Kośam the latter published in *Ep. Ind.* XXIV, p. 146, also occurs on coins of Kosam (B.M.C. p. 157 Nos. 62-3).[4] In a later article Mr. Krishna Deva has summarised the dates on inscriptions of rulers of Kausambi (*Ep. Ind.* XXIV. p. 254), which range from year 52 to year 130. As he points out, the era of these dates is still not absolutely certain and theories have varied from the Kushan era (Dr. Sten Konow, *Ep. Ind.* XXIII, p. 247) to the Gupta era (R.B. Daya Ram Sahni, *Ep. Ind.* XVIII, pp. 159-60). Palaeographical considerations are against the Gupta era, and there seem good grounds for holding that the Chedi era of 248 A.D. is not applicable. *D. R. Bhandarkar's List for Northern India* shows that the earliest certain date in the Chedi era is 207 (No. 1199) and is found in Western India.[5] And apart from the improbability of the use of the Chedi era in the Doab at the early dates of the Kosam and Bhita inscriptions there is a further difficulty. Bhīmavarman's latest date is 130 which would be equivalent to 378 A.D. if it is in the Chedi era. This would show him as reigning at Kosam towards the end of the reign of Samudra Gupta (335—380 A.D.). Kosam was certainly included

[4] I suggest that coins Nos. 71-2 at p. 158 are probably of Bhadramegha of whom inscriptions dated 81, 86, 287 are known.

[5] K. N. Dikshit has given a plausible explanation of the difficulty in assigning the earlier date 191 of the Sohawal plate to the Gupta era, vide *Ep. Ind.* XXI, p. 125.

in Samudra Gupta's dominions, but it is not mentioned in Line 21 of his inscription on the Asoka pillar which he took from Kosam to Prayag, and none of the names given in that line can be identified with the names on coins or inscriptions of Kosam, though Balavarman resembles in form the name Bhīmavarman. It would appear that the Kosam line had dwindled in power and this is corroborated by the deterioration in the style of the coins. An earlier era is thus suggested and Sten Konow's original proposal that the Kushana era should be applied is the most probable. This is strengthened by the fact that the dates use the ancient division of the year into seasons as Kushana inscriptions do, a method of dating which is not found in the certain dates of the Chedi or Gupta eras.

The late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal did useful work in many fields and published a number of interesting ancient coins. His interpretations, however, in many cases offend against the canons described above, especially in his *History of India*, 150 A.D. to 350 A.D. When he wrote that book he had never (as he told me later himself) seen a coin of Virasena, and thus from photographs or casts of inferior spscimens he entirely misinterpreted the design. Taking one part of a *nandipada* as the letters *Pra* he prefixed them to the name, converting it into Pravarsena and he assigned the coin to a Vākāṭaka ruler who was never near the area where Virasena coins are commonly found. Other parts of that symbol he misread as the dates 70 and 6, while he described the small circle as a wheel which he claimed to be the Vākāṭaka symbol. This last mistake is even more glaring when on a cast coin of Kausambi of the 2nd or 3rd Century B.C. part of the *nandipada* is read as Rudra, and a *swastika* is taken to be the symbol for 100 and the coin assigned to Rudrasena Vākāṭaka. His reading of the coin from Kausambi

shown in Pl. XX—4 Indian Museum Catalogue as Prithvi Sena instead of Pavata (=Parvata) as read by V. A. Smith cannot be supported though I have two coins which appear to read Prithvi Mitasa from the same locality. At present there seems no ground at all for supposing that the Vākāṭakas ever struck coin.

Besides his inaccuracy in readings and descriptions, Dr. Jayaswal, in his attempts to assign coins to dynasties mentioned in the records, has frequently neglected the evidence to be obtained from find-spots. There are instances of this in his treatment of the Nāga coins in *History of India 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.* which led Dr. A. Banerji Sastri to write:—"As such, a Bhāraśiva Nāga Empire must remain, pending further corroboration, a figment of the imagination." Dr. Jayaswal's paper "*Early signed coins of India*" in J.B.O.R.S. XX p. 279, which sets out to describe coins of the Maurya, Śuṅga and Kāṇvāyana dynasties is full of such errors and has been dealt with elsewhere. Symbols have been mistaken for letters and isolated coins from long series of local rulers have been assigned to members of the Imperial dynasties described in the Purāṇas. It is doubtful whether a single attribution can be accepted.

A POINT OF DISTINCTION IN THE CONCEPT OF KHANDHA IN BUDDHISM

BY

C. D. CHATTERJEE,

University of Lucknow.

In dealing with the *Khandha* doctrine of the Buddha, the scholars have generally missed a vital point of difference and distinction between the five *Khandhas* and the five *Upādāna-Khandhas* and with it, the main trend of the early Buddhist thought. It is from the biological point of view that we are interested in the problem of the origin and composition of Individuality which is sought to be represented by the five *Khandhas*, and it is from the psychological point of view that the Buddha wants us to be interested in the problem of the five *Upādāna-Khandhas*.[1] One may agree with Prof. Barua in thinking that the main historical interest of the study of the rise of Jainism and Buddhism lies in the opportunity of watching the emergence of the psychological standpoint out of its biological background.[2] Certain scientific and philosophical thoughts in the earliest phase of Jainism and Buddhism centre round Individuality as a biological concept, but the supreme religious and ethical interests of both of them are bound up with the psychological standpoint. While the Jaina interest appears to have been equally divided

[1] *Saṁyutta-Nikāya*, ed. Léon Feer, iii. pp. 1-188. London 1890. See specially, pp. 47-48 (§48); *Visuddhimagga*, ed. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, ii. pp. 477-478. London 1921; cf. *Abhidhamma-tthasaṅgaha*, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids, Chap. vii (*Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 1884, pp. 34-35); *Vibhaṅga*, ed. Mrs. Rhys Davids, pp. 99 and 101. London 1904.

[2] *Buddha's Greatness and Rôle* (Second Anniversary Lecture, 1944. Delivered by Prof. B. M. Barua under the auspices of the Buddhist Brotherhood of the University of Ceylon), p. 20. Colombo 1944.

between the two standpoints in the approach to the problem of Individuality, in Buddhism, we notice that the interest is pre-eminently psychological or psycho-ethical.

The five *Khandhas*, or 'Aggregates', viz, *Rūpa*, *Vedanā*, *Saññā*, *Saṁkhāra*, and *Viññāṇa*, are in reality the five categories of thought in terms of which the living individuals are or can be represented.[1] These are again broadly reducible to two, viz, *Rūpa* and *Arūpa*, i.e., 'the

[1] The term *Khandha* in Pali, phonetically corresponds to the Sanskrit स्कन्ध, but the meaning ascribed to it in the Canonical Pali texts, is not to be met with in Brahmanical literature. Linguistically speaking, the use of the term *Khandha* in the sense of 'aggregate' (*ekasaṅgaha*) or 'heap' (*rāsi*) is purely arbitrary (*Visuddhimagga*, pp. 473 and 478).

The five sections of the *Khandha*, viz, *Rūpa* (रूप), *Vedanā* (वेदना), *Saññā* (संज्ञा), *Saṁkhāra* (संस्कार), and *Viññāṇa* (विज्ञान) are merely different factors, bodily and mental, into which the living organism is supposed to have been divided. These five sections have been taken by scholars to stand for 'the Form', 'Sensation', 'Perception', 'Confection', and 'Consciousness'; but none of them occurs really in the narrow sense which has been imputed to it. Although the term *Rūpa* ordinarily means 'the Form', as a section of the *Khandha*, it stands for 'all that relates to the Body.' In this connexion, attention may be drawn to a passage in the *Visuddhimagga* in which Buddhaghosa has recorded his own opinion on the subject. He says, "*Bhagavā hitakāmo tassa tassa janassa sukhagahaṇatthaṁ cakkhu-ādīnaṁ pi visaya-bhūtaṁ oḷārikaṁ paṭhamaṁ Rūpakkhandhaṁ dasseti*" (p. 477). It is evident therefore that all such things as are perceptible through the sense-organs should come in the category of *Rūpa*. Likewise, the other four sections of the *Khandha* are to be understood in the sense of 'all that relates to Feeling' (*Vedanā*), 'all that relates to Perception' (*Saññā*), 'all that relates to Conation' (*Saṁkhāra*), and 'all that relates to Consciousness' (*Viññāṇa*). It is evident from the *Visuddhimagga* that the scholiast Buddhaghosa has taken the same view about them. ("*Tato iṭṭhāniṭṭharūpasaṁ-vedanikaṁ Vedanaṁ. Yaṁ vedayati taṁ sañjānātīti evaṁ vedanāvisayassa ākāragāhikaṁ Saññaṁ: saññāvasena abhi-saṁkhārake Saṁkhāre; tesaṁ vedanādīnaṁ nissayaṁ adhi-patibhūtañ ca nesaṁ Viññāṇan ti.*" *Visuddhimagga*, p. 477, see also p. 452; cf. *Vibhaṅga*, pp. 1-12). I perfectly agree with Mrs. Rhys Davids that this sort of division of the *Khandhas*, viz, one section relating to the Body and four, to Mind, whether originally Buddhistic or not, is not merely unwieldy but, in scheme and in name, not a very happy essay at analysis (*Buddhism*, Home University Library, p. 71). Cf. *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, ed. E. Müller, pp. 17-18 (§§ 59-63). London 1885.

From and the Formless', 'the Corporeal and the Incorporeal', or, as one may say, Body and Mind, or Matter and Consciousness. All the concepts that may be formed with regard to the Body, living as well as dead, are placed in the category of *Rūpa*, and all the concepts that may be formed with regard to Mind, in the category of *Arūpa*.[1] The *Rūpa* is further subdivided into two categories,[2] viz, *Bhūtarūpa*, 'Essential or Primary Form,' and *Upādārūpa*,

[1] In Buddhist terminology, an almost identical term for *Arūpa* is *Nāma*. Thus, the expression *Nāmarūpa* includes both *Rūpa* and *Arūpa* (cf. *Majjhima-Nikāya*, i. ed. V. Trenckner, p. 53. London 1888; also see below, p. 164, n. 1).

[2] "*Tadetaṁ ruppanalakkhaṇena ekavidhaṁ pi, bhūtopadāya bhedato duvidhaṁ.*" *Visuddhimagga*, p. 443. Cf. *Nāmarūpa-pariccheda*, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, *v.* 3 (*Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 1913-14, p. 5); *Abhidhammāvatāra*, ed. A.P. Buddhadatta, p. 64 (*v.* 624). London 1915; *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids, Chap. vi. (*J.P.T.S.*, 1884, p. 27).

There are *four* attributes of *Bhūtarūpa*, which are as follows:—

(i) *pathavīdhātu* (earth), (ii) *āpodhātu* (water), (iii) *tejodhātu* (fire), and (iv) *vāyodhātu* (air).

There are *twenty-four* attributes of *Upādārūpa*, which are as follows:—

(i) *cakkhu* (eye);
(ii) *sotaṁ* (ear);
(iii) *ghānaṁ* (nose);
(iv) *jivhā* (tongue);
(v) *kāyo* (body);
(vi) *rūpaṁ* (form);
(vii) *saddo* (sound);
(viii) *gandho* (smell);
(ix) *raso* (taste);
(x) *itthindriyaṁ* (female sex);
(xi) *purisindriyaṁ* (male sex);
(xii) *jīvitindriyaṁ* (vitality);
(xiii) *hadayavatthu* (conscience)
(xiv) *kāyaviññatti* (gesture);
(xv) *vacīviññatti* (speech);
(xvi) *ākāsadhātu* (space);
(xvii) *rūpassa lahutā* (buoyancy);
(xviii) ,, *mudutā* (elasticity);
(xix) ,, *kammaññatā* (activity);
(xx) , *upacayo* (power of integration);
(xxi) ,, *santati* (continuity of identity);
(xxii) ,, *jaratā* (subject to decay);
(xxiii) ,, *aniccatā* (undurability); and
(xxiv) *kavaliṅkāro āhāro* (sustaining through morsels of nourishing food).

'Derivative or Secondary Form.' Similarly, the *Arūpa* or Formless[1] is also subdivided into two, viz, *Citta*, 'Mind', and *Cetasika*, 'Mental.'[2] According to this classification,

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See *Vibhaṅga*, pp. 2 and 13-14, etc.; *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, pp. 124—127 (§§ 584—585), p. 132 (§ 588), and pp. 134—144 (§§ 596—646); *Visuddhimagga*, pp. 443—450; *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, Chap. vi (*J.P.T.S.*, 1884, p. 27); *Nāmarūpapariccheda*, *vv*. 480—615. (*J.P.T.S.*, 1913-14, pp. 33—40); *Abhidhammāvatāra*, pp. 64—78.

Thera Buddhadatta, an elder contemporary of Buddhaghosa, informs us that, according to some expounders of the *Abhidhamma* philosophy, there are five other attributes of *Rūpa*, viz, *balarūpa*, *sambhavarūpa*, *jātirūpa*, *rogarūpa*, and *middharūpa* (strength, coming into being, birth, disease, and mental torpor) (*Abhidhammāvatāra*, p. 72). Buddhaghosa not only admits this fact but also agrees with his learned contemporary that the first four new types of *Rūpa* mentioned in the *Aṭṭhakathā* (? *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā*) are in no way different from those specified by the Buddha and that the fifth one, i.e., *middharūpa*, is no *Rūpa* at all. In their opinion, *balarūpa* is equivalent to *vāyodhātu*, *sambhavarūpa*, to *āpodhātu*, *jātirūpa*, to *upacaya* and *santati*, and *rogarūpa*, to *jaratā* and *aniccatā* (*Visuddhimagga*, p. 450). I, however, find no justification for accepting the suggestion of Buddhadatta and Buddhaghosa, which appears to me to be too far-fetched.

The best *Abhidhamma* interpretation of the 24th attribute of *Upādārūpa* is to be found in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, where it has been explained as, "*Odano, kummāso, sattu, maccho, maṁsaṁ, khīraṁ, dadhi, sappi, navanītaṁ, telaṁ, madhupphāṇitaṁ, yaṁ vā panaññam pi atthi yamhi yamhi janapade tesaṁ tesaṁ sattānaṁ mukhāsiyaṁ, dantavikhādanaṁ, galajjhoharaṇīyaṁ, kucchivitthambhanaṁ, yāya ojāya sattā yāpenti-idan taṁ Rūpaṁ, 'kavaḷiṅkāro āhāro'*" (p. 144, § 646).

[1] We have stated above that an almost identical term for *Arūpa* is *Nāma*. It may be noted here that the only difference between *Arūpa* and *Nāma* is, that while the former has two distinct aspects, viz, *Citta* and *Cetasika*, the latter has three, viz, *Citta*, *Cetasika*, and *Nibbāna*. So says Anuruddha:

"*Iti Cittaṁ, Cetasikaṁ, Nibbānan 'ti naruttaro* /
Nāmaṁ tiddhā pakāsesi, cakkhumā vadataṁ varo" //

Nāmarūpapariccheda, *v*. 477 (*J.P.T.S.*, 1913—14, p. 32); see also *v*. 3; cf. *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, Chap. viii (*J.P.T.S.*, 1884, p. 39); *Milindapañha*, ed. V. Trenckner, p. 49. London 1880. The terms *Nāma* and *Rūpa* may be profitably compared with अन्तरात्मा and शरीरात्मा of the *Mahābhāṣya* (Patañjali on Pāṇini, iii. 1. 87).

[2] *Vibhaṅga*, p. 67. According to this authoritative text of

the *Arūpa* comprises the four aggregates of *Vedanā*, *Saññā*, *Saṁkhāra*, and *Viññāṇa*. In Theravāda Buddhism as well as in Sarvāstivāda, the concepts of *Rūpa* and *Arūpa*, which is to say, of the five *Khandhas* are treated as Reals (*Vijjamānapaññatti*).[1] In other words, the early Buddhist attitude towards the world as a whole is realistic. But the living individuals, with reference to whom the above concepts are significant, are treated as Unreals (*Avijjamānapaññatti*).[2] They are considered to be so many biological facts that are subject to the laws of birth (*jāti*), decay (*jarā*), and death (*maraṇa*), and are also conceived as composites of the five *Khandhas* that are both the elements of existence and Reals as concepts. The individuals thus belong to the general order of existence as made out of common experience, and also to the general scheme of thought. According to the early Buddhist thought, when it is said that a living individual is a com-

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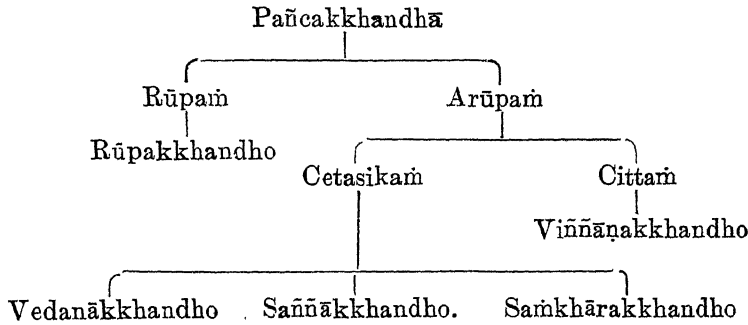
the *Abhidhamma-Piṭaka*, the classification of the five *Khandhas* would be as follows:

See also *Vibhaṅga*, pp. 418. 420. and 435; *Nāmarūpapariccheda*, *vv.* 645—651 (*J.P.T.S.*, 1913-14, pp. 42).

[1] *Puggalapaññatti-Aṭṭhakathā*, ed. G. Landsberg and Mrs. Rhys Davids (*J.P.T.S.*, 1913-14, pp. 171-172); *Nāmarūpapariccheda*, *vv.* 861—864 (*J.P.T.S.*, 1913-14, pp. 53-54); *Abhidhammāvatāra*, p. 84; *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, Chap. viii (*J.P.T.S.*, 1884, p. 39). By 'Theravāda', we mean the orthodox or original Buddhism, as opposed to its later ramifications like Sarvāstivāda, Mahīśāsaka, Mahāsaṁghika, and others.

[2] *Ibid.*

posite or compound of the five *Khandhas*, it is not meant that the same is no more than the totality or mechanical summation of those five aggregates as separate parts. The notion of the individual (*satta*) is thus identifiable neither with any one of the *Khandhas* nor even with their totality, mechanical or otherwise. To put it in the early Buddhist logical form: *imasmiṁ sati idaṁ hoti, imass' uppādā idaṁ uppajjati; imasmiṁ asati idaṁ na hoti, imassa nirodhā idaṁ nirujjhatîti*,[1] if there are the *Khandhas* in their organic unification, the notion of a living individual is possible. An apt illustration of this notion is to be found in a verse ascribed to Sister Vajirā, wherein it is said :

"*Yathā hi aṅgasambhārā hoti saddo 'ratho' iti/*
evaṁ Khandhesu santesu hoti 'satto' ti sammutîti"//[2]

[Just as when the components (of a chariot) are present (and fitted up), we use the word 'Chariot', likewise when the *Khandhas* are present (in organic unity), we talk of a 'Being'].

The concepts of the five *Khandhas* or Aggregates, or, in other words, of Body and Mind, thus follow from actual experiences that are Reals as such. All our daily experiences suggest at once the *aniccatā* or impermanence as the fundamental attribute or general character of things. Accordingly, the individuals as well as the concepts by which they are represented share this common attribute.

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[1] *Majjhima-Nikāya*, i. ed. V. Trenckner, pp. 262-263. London 1888; ii. ed. R. Chalmers, p. 32. London 1898; iii. ed. R. Chalmers, p. 63. London 1899; *Saṁyutta-Nikāya*, ed. Léon Feer, ii. p. 65. London 1888; *Udāna*, ed. P. Steinthal, pp. 1 and 2. London 1885; *Mahāvastu*, ed. Emile Senart, ii. p. 285. Paris 1890; *Madhyamaka-Vṛtti*, ed. Louis de la Vallée Poussin, p. 9. St. Pétersbourg 1913.

[2] *Saṁyutta-Nikāya*, ed. Léon Feer, i. p. 131. London 1884; *Kathāvatthu*, ed. Arnold C. Taylor, i. p. 66. London 1894; *Milindapañha*, ed. V. Trenckner, p. 28. London 1880; cf. *Abhidhammāvatāra*, p. 88.

Whatever be the conception of *Ātmā*[1] as revealed in the *Upaniṣads*, by the *Ātman* doctrine, the Buddha understood a system of thought, implying the notion of a personal entity which is immutable, invariable, eternal, and not subject to the law of change (*nicco, dhuvo, sassato, avipariṇāmadhammo*); but, in his opinion, no such entity really presents itself to experience.[2] The early Buddhist thought thus agrees with the Heraclitean view of change, for, according to both Heraclitus and the Buddha, 'in the ceaseless transformation of all things, or the process of Becoming, nothing individual persists, but only the order.[3] The Buddhist terms for the continuity

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[1] The Pali variant of *Ātmā* is *Attā*, but the two widely differ in meaning. In Pali, *Attā* means 'Self' and not 'Soul', except in some of the discourses of the Buddha, where it has been specially used as a linguistic variant of *Ātmā* to bring out the Brahmanical conception of Soul. There is no place for Soul in Buddhism.

[2] *Majjhima-Nikāya*, i. pp. 8 and 138; *Kathāvatthu*. i. p. 67.

[3] Barua, B. M., *Buddha's Greatness and Rôle*, p. 13; Windelband, W., *A History of Philosophy*, p. 50. New York 1923.

Although both Heraclitus and his Indian contemporary, the Buddha, believed in the existence of a system in the process of Becoming, they fundamentally differed with regard to its nature. According to the former, it is the *order*, by virtue of which Life and Death, Youth and Old Age, or any two such opposites are continually, automatically, and mutually changing their places, in this perpetual and ceaseless revolution of the universe and of all individual things, visible or invisible. Thus, Life is replaced by Death, and Death, by Life, and this endless process of Becoming goes on uninterruptedly through the eternity. And the only factor that governs this unending flux, is the *order*—the law of change, which is the only reality in the midst of unreality. The Buddha, too, believed in the existence of an order, but that is the law of *Karma* which causes transmigration and which also operates through the eternity, because the identity of a sentient Being continues, despite the uninterrupted succession of births and deaths. That law only becomes inoperative, when that Being attains *Nirvāṇa*. Thus, while Heraclitus believed in the existence of a law governing the process of Becoming and considered it to be absolute and unrestricted in its scope of operation, the Buddha considered it to be controllable and restricted under special circumstances. In short, the Becoming to Heraclitus is *uncaused*, whereas the same to the Buddha is *caused*.

of that order are *dhammasantati* as well as *saṁkhārasantati*.[1] With the Buddha, therefore, the process of change means a course of reaction (*paṭibhāga*) from one kind of happening into another; and through this, one is to seek the continuity of life-impulses or the true meaning of Individuality. From the Buddha's doctrine of *aniccatā*, it does not follow that a person, whether a perfect saint or not, becomes completely annihilated or utterly destroyed on the dissolution of his body and that he ceases to be.[2] The general opinion of the Buddhist scholars formed on the basis of the *Cūḷa-Māluṅkya-Sutta* of the *Majjhima-Nikāya* is, that the Buddha deliberately refrained from giving definite answers to the questions of metaphysical importance and particularly to the question, whether or not the Tathāgata (a common epithet for all the Buddhas) continues to be after death, and thereby banned philosophy altogether.[3] But it may come as a surprise to them that in the *Khandha-Saṁyutta* of the *Saṁyutta-Nikāya*, a definite answer has been given to this very question.[4] The trend of Sāriputta's arguments levelled against Yamaka's erroneous opinion[5] makes it perfectly clear that, according to the Buddha, *the continuity of Individuality is not to be conceived apart from the time to time combinations of the five Khandhas, both the Individuality and the combinations being equally subject to the law of change.*

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[1] *Milindapañha*, pp. 40-41; *Theragāthā-Aṭṭhakathā*, ii. ed. Rērukāne Ariyañāṇa Thera, p. 151. Colombo 1925. Sinhalese Edition (on *Theragāthā*, v. 716).

[2] *Saṁyutta-Nikāya*, iii. pp. 109 ff.

[3] *Majjhima-Nikāya*, i. pp. 426—432, see specially p. 431 (*byākata* and *abyākata*); pp. 483—489 (Aggivacchagotta-Sutta).

[4] *Saṁyutta-Nikāya*, iii. pp. 109—112.

[5] "*Saccaṁ kira te āvuso Yamaka evarūpaṁ pāpakaṁ diṭṭhigataṁ uppannaṁ 'tathāhaṁ Bhagavatā dhammaṁ desitaṁ ājānāmi yathā khīṇāsavo bhikkhu kāyassa bhedā ucchijjati, vinassati, na hoti paraṁ maraṇā'ti?*" (*ibid.*, pp. 109-110).

From the facts stated above, it will be seen that it is through the *Upādāna* and the *Upādana* alone that the individuals as individuals become personally interested and affected in the cosmic process of life and thereby get themselves involved in the life's vital problem of happiness and misery (*sukha* and *dukkha*). According to the doctrine of the ***Paṭiccasamuppāda***, the very root or fundamental basis of that *Upādāna* is *Taṇhā*, or 'Craving' (*Taṇhāpaccayā Upādānaṁ*), which impels the individual to establish the idea of permanent ownership over things of experience, over which such ownership can never be established.[1] The origin of the feelings of happiness and misery is traceable to the failure to satisfy such a craving in us: the natural clinging to the things of experience, without realizing either their true character or as they stand in reality. It is nowhere suggested in the Canonical Pali texts that the origin of *Upādāna* lies elsewhere, i.e., in the order of things. If so, the charge of pessimism often brought against the doctrine of the Buddha is unfounded. It follows, on the other hand, from the position

[1] Perhaps the most lucid explanation of the term *Upādāna* is to be found in one of the sermons of the Buddha (Mahā-Nidāna-Suttanta), from which the following extract has been cited:

(Buddha) "*Taṇhāpaccayā Upādānan'ti-iti kho pan'etaṁ vuttaṁ; tad, Ānanda, iminā p'etaṁ pariyāyena veditabbaṁ yathā 'Taṇhāpaccayā Upādānaṁ'. Taṇhā va hi, Ānanda, nâbhavissa sabbena sabbaṁ, sabbathā sabbaṁ, kassaci, kimhici, seyyathîdaṁ: Rūpataṇhā, Saddataṇhā, Gandhataṇhā, Rasataṇhā, Phoṭṭhabbataṇhā, Dhammataṇhā, sabbaso Taṇhāya asati Taṇhānirodhā, api nu kho Upādānaṁ paññāyethâti?*"

(Ānanda) "*Na h'etaṁ, Bhante.*"

(Buddha) "*Tasmāt ih, Ānanda, es' eva hetu, etaṁ nidānaṁ, esa samudayo, esa paccayo Upādānassa, yadidaṁ Taṇhā.*" (*Dīgha-Nikāya*, ii. ed. Rhys Davids and Carpenter, p. 58. London 1903).

Commenting on the term *Upādāna*, the South-Indian scholiast Dhammapāla Thera writes: "*gahaṇa-lakkhaṇaṁ* (*scil.* Taṇhā) '*Upādānaṁ*', *amuñcanarasaṁ, Taṇhādaḷhattadiṭṭhipaccupaṭṭhānaṁ, Taṇhāpadaṭṭhānaṁ.*" (*Udāna-Aṭṭhakathā*, ed. Bihalpola Devarakkhita Thera, p. 29. Colombo 1920. Sinhalese Edition). Cf. *Visuddhimagga*, p. 569.

taken by him, that the individuals themselves are the makers and unmakers of the drama of happiness and misery of their own lives.

In the phraseology of the Buddha, the term *Upādāna* is both a genus and a species. As a general term, it carries with it the notions conveyed by the words, *chanda* (inclination), *rāga* (passion), *nandi* (delight), *taṇhā* (craving), *upāya* (approach), *upādāna* (attachment), *cetaso adhiṭṭhāna* (that on which the Mind rests), *cetaso abhinivesa* (that to which the Mind adheres), and *cetaso anusaya* (that on which the Mind lies).[1] All these proceed from the three false ideas, viz, 'this is mine', which is induced by *Taṇhā*; 'I am this', which is induced by *Māna*; and 'this is my true self', which is induced by *Diṭṭhi*. But the cosmic process goes on governed by its own law! The question for us therefore is, whether or not we should be connected with it through desires. We cannot stop the cosmic process, but we can surely check our desires.[2] It is by this means alone that we can dry up the well of Craving (*Taṇhā*) at the very source and thereby pass out of this play of happiness and misery going on through the eternity.[3]

This aspect of the Buddha's doctrine is generally emphasized in Theravāda Buddhism. It inculcates upon us that on this side of our life, the three springs of action (*kamma*) are the three unwholesome motives (*akusalamūlā*), viz, *lobha* (greed), *dosa* (malice), and *moha* (delusion).[4]

[1] *Saṁyutta-Nikāya*, iii. p. 161 (§ 112).

[2] Cf. "*Dukkhameva uppajjamānam uppajjati, dukkhaṁ niruddhamānaṁ nirujjhatîti, na kaṅkhati, na vicikicchati, aparapaccayā ñāṇam eva'assa ettha hoti*" (*Ibid.*, p. 135).

[3] Cf. "*Tassa acetayato anabhisaṁkharato tā c'eva saññā nirujjhanti, aññā ca oḷārikā saññā na uppajjanti. So nirodhaṁ phusati*" (*Dīgha-Nikāya*, i. ed. Rhys Davids and Carpenter, p. 185. London 1890).

[4] *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, p. 180 (§ 982). *Vibhaṅga*, pp. 208-209; *Nāmarūpaparicchedа*, *v*. 149 (*J.P.T.S.*, 1913-14, p. 14).

What is the other aspect of the Buddha's doctrine, is now the question. The non-understanding of the other aspect has led to many misconceptions about the true position of Buddhism as a religion. One might say that the general impression created by the Canonical Pali texts is, that just a negative result of the religious efforts could be obtained through Buddhism, for the goal set before it, is a heaven of Nothingness (*Nibbāna*). But the sermons of the Buddha as recorded in those texts, speak not only of the three *akusalamūlas*, or unwholesome motives, but also of the three *kusalamūlas*, or wholesome motives, viz, *alobha* (the opposite of greed), *adosa* (the opposite of malice), and *amoha* (the opposite of delusion)[1]. It will be seen that, though each of the *kusalamūlas* is negative in form, it is clearly positive in connotation. Thus, *alobha* is much more than the mere absence of greed; it is no mere disinterestedness, for it is the benevolent trait of an individual's character. Similarly, *adosa* is much more than the mere absence of hatred; it is love, the compassionate trait of one's character. *Amoha*, too, is much more than the absence of delusion; it is knowledge (*ñāṇa*) ripening into wisdom (*paññā*). What is then the course of life which proceeds from the *kusalamūlas*? The Buddha differs from the contemporary and other thinkers, when he speaks not of the *two* ordinary kinds of Feeling (*Vedanā*), viz, *sukha* (pleasure) and *dukkha* (pain), but of *three*, viz, *sukha* (pleasure), *dukkha* (pain), and *adukkhamasukha* (neither pain nor pleasure).[2] It might appear to some that in *adukkhamasukha*, the two feelings

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[1] *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, p. 180 (§ 981). See also pp. 13-14 (§§32-34) and pp. 65-66 (§§ 312—314); *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, Chap. iii (*J.P.T.S.*, 1884, p. 12); *Vibhaṅga*, pp. 169 and 210.

[2] *Dīgha-Nikāya*, ii. p. 66; *Majjhima-Nikāya*, i. pp. 59, 270, 293, 304, etc.; *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, Chap. iii (*J.P.T.S.*, 1884, p. 11).

The compilers of the *Abhidhamma-Piṭaka* mention four forms of *Vedanā*, viz, *sukha* (pleasure), *dukkha* (pain), *sukhadukkha*

of *sukha* and *dukkha* are either neutralized or transcended. It is, nevertheless, a feeling and a felt experience. This *adukkhamasukha* feeling is therefore nothing but

(pleasure and pain), and *adukkhamasukha* (neither pleasure nor pain) and also the different categories to which they belong. According to the *Vibhaṅga* (pp. 3-5), the four forms of *Vedanā* are to be classified as follows:

As in the sermons of the Buddha preserved in the *Sutta-Piṭaka*, only three forms of *Vedanā* have been mentioned, the introduction of *sukhadukkha* as a new type of *Vedanā* by the compilers of the *Abhidhamma-Piṭaka* is unwarranted and unjustifiable. It may be noted here that even in the Mādhyamika system of Buddhist philosophy, which came into existence so late as the second half of the first century A.D., only three forms of *Vedanā* have been recognized, as is evident from the *Prasannapadā* (*Madhyamakavṛtti*). Commenting on one of the *kārikās* (*Mūlamadhyamakakārikās*) of that great Buddhist philosopher Nāgārjuna, the learned commentator Candrakīrti (7th cent. A.D.), who also belonged to the Mādhyamika school, writes in his *Prasannapadā*:

"इष्टानिष्टोभयविपरीतविषयानुभूतिर्विषयानुभवो वेदनं वित्तिर्वेदनेत्युच्यते । दुःखा सुखाऽदुःखासुखा च त्रिविधा" ।

To explain the relation between वेदना and तृष्णा, as it stands in reality, he further adds:

"वेदनानिमित्तमेवाभिलाषं करोतीत्यर्थः । कथं कृत्वा । यदितावत्सुखावेदनास्योपजायते । स तस्याः पुनः पुनः संयोगार्थं परितृष्यते । अथ दुःखा तदा तस्या विसंयोगार्थं परितृष्यते । अथादुःखासुखा तस्या अपि नित्यमपरिभ्रंशार्थं परितृष्यते" । (*Madhyamaka-Vṛtti*, ed. L. de la Vallée Poussin, pp. 554-555. St. Pétersbourg 1913).

upekkhā which is generally rendered in English by 'indifference.'[1] In the *Cūḷa-Vedalla-Sutta*, the reaction of this feeling is said to be *avijjā*, which is indeed puzzling at first sight.[2] This *avijjā* cannot surely be taken to mean 'delusion' or 'ignorance' but a state of sub-consciousness which is not brought into clear recognition. When it is brought into clear recognition, it becomes *vijjā*, or true knowledge. As a conscious state emerges out of its unconscious background, the reaction of *vijjā* is *vimutti*, or feeling of emancipation. From *vimutti* follows *Nibbāna*.[3] If it is asked what follows from *Nibbāna* by way of further reaction, the question is stopped on the ground that a limit must be set somewhere to the line of enquiry for the sake of what the Sister Dhammadinnā called '*pañhānaṁ pariyantaṁ gahaṇaṁ*'[4] or, as one might say, to avoid अनवस्था, i.e., infinite regress in thought. The reaction (*paṭibhāga*) between *sukha* and *dukkha* or between *dukkha* and *sukha* is one which, according to the early Buddhist thought, may sometimes take place between the two opposites. If it really takes place, in the opinion of the scholiast Buddhaghosa, it is nothing but *visabhāga-paṭibhāga*, i.e., 'a reaction between the two opposites.'[5] The reaction between *vijjā* (knowledge) and *vimutti* (feeling of emancipation), or between *vimutti* (feeling of emancipation) and *Nibbāna* (Emancipation) is a case of one taking place between the two counterparts or compliments. It is a case of *sabhāgapaṭibhāga*, i.e., 'a reaction between

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[1] *Majjhima-Nikāya*, i. p. 90; Cf. Anuruddha:

"*Sukhaṁ Dukkhaṁ Upekkhâ ti tividhā tattha Vedanā/*
Somanassaṁ Domanassaṁ iti bhedena pañcadhā"//

Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha, Chap. iii (*J.P.T.S.*, 1884, p. 11. §3).

[2] *Majjhima-Nikāya*, i. p. 304.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Papañcasūdanī*, ed. J. Woods and D. Kosambi, ii. p. 370. London 1928.

two similar things', as characterized by Buddhaghosa.[1] When the opinion of Sister Dhammadinnā was communicated to the Buddha for his consideration, he fully endorsed it, adding nothing further.[2] As pointed out by Prof. Barua, here lies the real point of difference between the philosophical view of Heraclitus and the doctrine of the Buddha.[3] According to the former, when the things constantly change rotating between the two opposites, nothing individual persists but only the *order* (δίκη)—the law of change, by virtue of which Life and Death, Youth and Old Age, or any two such opposites are continually, automatically, and mutually changing their places.[4] Heraclitus thus discloses only one course of cosmic life—the single process of change, implying the notion of a cyclical order of things moving back and fro between the two opposites. If such be the reality of Life, there is naturally no escape from it, for we have nothing to choose and no freedom of the will to exercise. In the opinion of the Buddha, the change, i.e., the Becoming (*bhava*), which is the essence of the life of reality, implies two different courses of reaction. In one, the reaction takes place between the two opposites as, for instance,

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[1] *Papañcasūdanī*, ii. p. 370.

[2] Cf. "*Mamañ ce pi tvaṁ, Visākha, etamatthaṁ puccheyyāsi, aham pi taṁ evamevaṁ byākareyyaṁ, yathā taṁ Dhammadinnāya bhikkhuniyā byākataṁ; eso c'ev'etassa attho, evametaṁ dhārehîti.*" (*Majjhima-Nikāya*, i. pp. 304-305).

[3] Barua, B. M., *Buddha's Greatness and Rôle*, p. 13.

[4] Cf. "This order, the same for all things, no one of gods or men has made, but it always was, and is, and ever shall be . . ." (20) —Heraclitus.

"Opposition unites. From what draws apart results the most beautiful harmony. All things take place by strife." (46) —Heraclitus.

"Life and Death, and waking and sleeping, and youth and old age, are the same; for the latter change and are the former, and the former change back to the latter." (78)—Heraclitus. (Smith, T. V., *Philosophers Speak for Themselves*, pp. 11-12, Chicago 1935.)

between *sukha* and *dukkha*, or between *dukkha* and *sukha*, precisely in the same manner as conceived by Heraclitus, while, in the other, it takes place between the two compliments or counterparts that serve to complete the process towards the fulfilment of a life of effort. Thus, if there be only two courses left open to us, we may choose between the two and exercise the freedom of our will. If the first course is taken to be *Saṁsāra*, or continuous Rebirth, the second would naturally be *Nibbāna*, or the end of Rebirth, which is theoretically only the last state of perfection or fulfilment. *Saṁsāra* and *Nibbāna* are merely two relative ideas, and there is no absolute distinction between the two (विचार्यमाणयोस्तुल्यरूपत्वात्)[1] in respect of the process or mode of operation as inculcated by the great Buddhist philosopher Nāgārjuna,[2] though their difference lies in the ultimate end to which they respectively direct. As the significance of the former depends on that of the latter, they naturally stand on the same footing in respect of each other. That common footing or point of reference is evidently the *Paṭiccasamuppāda*, or 'Causal Origination', which in its *samuppāda* (origination) aspect is *Saṁsāra* and in its *nirodha* (cessa-

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[1] Candrakīrti on the *Mūla-Madhyamaka-Kārikā*, xxv. 19-20; *v. infra*.

[2] Cf. " न संसारस्य निर्वाणात्किंचिदस्ति विशेषणं ।
न निर्वाणस्य संसारात्किंचिदस्ति विशेषणं ॥ (१९)
निर्वाणस्य च या कोटिः कोटिः संसरणस्य च ।
न तयोरन्तरं किंचित्सुसूक्ष्ममपि विद्यते" ॥ (२०)

So also Candrakīrti:
"संसारनिर्वाणयोः परस्परतो नास्ति कश्चिद्विशेषो विचार्यमाणयोस्तुल्यरूपत्वात्"
—*Prasannapadā* on *Kārikā*, xxv. 19.
(*Madhyamaka-Vṛtti*, ed. L. de la Vallée Poussin, p. 535)

For a further discussion on the relation between *Saṁsāra* and *Nirvāṇa* by *Nāgārjuna*, see his *Mahāyāna-Viṁśaka* (*Tibetan and Chinese Texts of the Mahāyāna-Viṁśaka*, ed. and trans. Susumu **Yamaguchi**. *The Eastern Buddhist*, iv. pp. 56 ff. and 169 ff. Kyoto, Japan).

tion) aspect is *Nibbāna*.[1] *Nibbāna* is not precisely the name of the process but the goal towards which the Being is directed. Its mathematical value in the process of thought is like that of *n* in an ascending series of the cardinals. It is only conceivable as a process, when it is taken to be a synonym of *vimokkha* or *vimutti*, i.e., the emancipation of a sentient Being, the successive stages of which are realizable by the aspirant during his onward course. To a progressive life, the second course is therefore the one which proceeds from the three *kusulamūlas*, viz, *alobha*, *adosa*, and *amoha*. It is undeniable that the whole trend of religious thought has been so devised by the Buddha that an aspirant may proceed from good to greater good and from happiness to greater happiness by avoiding the *akusala*, i.e., the mental state, the reaction of which on life and the world is unwholesome. There is no place for the *akusala* in the Jhānic life, i.e., in the life of Reflection, either in the sphere of Form (*Rūpāvacara*) or in that of the Formless (*Arūpāvacara*); nor has it any place in the sphere of the Supra-mundane (*Lokuttara*).[2] The Jhānist progresses through the successive stages of effort and fruition unhindered and undistracted, experiencing the different types of Consciousness (*Viññāṇa*), whether *Kusala*, *Vipāka*, or *Kriyā*, that come into play during the onward course of *Jhāna* and *Yoga*.[3]

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[1] For the doctrine of *Paṭiccasamuppāda*, see *Mahāvagga* (i. 1) of the *Vinaya-Piṭaka* (ed. Hermann Oldenberg, i. pp. 1-2. London 1879). See also *Udāna*, i. 1—3 (ed. Paul Steinthal, pp. 1—3. London 1885).

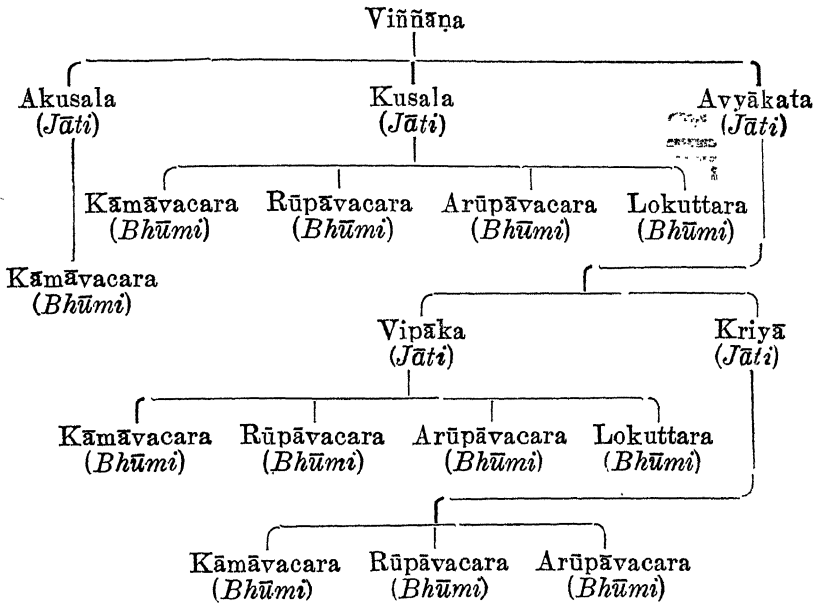
[2] *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, Chap. i. (*J.P.T.S.*, 1884, pp. 3-4. §§ 8—12); *Abhidhammāvatāra*, pp. 4-5; *Visuddhimagga*, p. 453. See also the classification of *Viññāṇa* given below.

[3] *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, pp. 31—55 (§§ 160—264: Rūpāvacara-Kusala), pp. 58—60 (§§ 273—276: Arūpāvacara-Kusala), pp. 60—75 (§§ 277—364: Lokuttara-Kusala), p. 97 (§§499-500: Rūpāvacara-Vipāka), pp. 97—99 (§§501—504: Arūpāvacara-Vipāka), pp. 99—117 (§§ 505—555: Lokuttara-Vipāka), p. 123 (§§ 577-578: Rūpāvacara-Kriyā), pp. 123-124 (§§ 579—582: Arūpāvacara-

It is nowhere suggested in the Canonical Pali texts that the five *Khandhas* as ingredients of existence, would

Kriyā); *Nāmarūpaparicccheda*, *vv.* 634-635 (*J.P.T.S.*, 1913-14, p. 41); *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, Chap. i (*J.P.T.S.*, 1884, pp. 2-3).

In the *Visuddhimagga*, Buddhaghosa has drawn a distinction between *Jhāna* (ध्यान) and *Yoga* (योग). which I have followed here, although it is contrary to the usual practice of the Buddhist writers, according to whom the term *Jhāna* implies all the stages or levels of mental concentration. In the opinion of that learned scholiast, if we distinguish between the two (*jhānaṅgayogabhedato*), the first five stages (same as the first four of the *Nikāyas*) of meditation, which relate to 'the Sphere of Form' (*Rūpāvacara*), are the *Jhānas*, while the remaining four (excluding the *Saññāvedayitanirodhasamāpatti*) which have a bearing on 'the Sphere of the Formless' (*Arūpāvacara*), are the *Yogas* (*āruppānaṁ yogavasena*). Cf. *Abhidhammāvatāra*, p. 5 (Lokuttara).

The different types of *Viññāṇa*, or Consciousness, as mentioned in the *Abhidhamma* texts, may be classified as follows:—

On the basis of the above, it is possible to ascertain the various types of *Viññāṇa* experienced by a Jhānist, either as a *Sekha* (*Sotāpattimaggaṭṭha* to *Arahattamaggaṭṭha*, i.e., seven classes) or as an *Asekha* (*Arahattaphalaṭṭha* or *Arhat*), during the successive stages of meditation (*jhānaṅga*) and trance (*yoga*), and also to specify the number of each of those types. The different types of *Viññāṇa* thus experienced and their respective numbers may be tabled in the following way:

Types and Categories of Consciousness in their Relation to the Stages of Meditation.

	VIÑÑĀṆA-BHŪMI	NON-JHĀNIST		JHĀNIST		Jhāna *or* Yoga	TOTAL
	(*Spheres of Consciousness*)	A. Puthujjana: Andha (*Blind* or *Impious*); Kalyāṇa (*Pious*)	B. Sekha: (*Non-Meditating*)	B. Sekha: (*Meditating*); C. Asekha: (*Non-Meditating*)	C. Asekha: (*Meditating*)		*Types of Consciousness*
		Akusala	Kusala	Avyākata: Vipāka	Avyākata: Kriyā		
COSMIC SPHERES, *Mundane*	(*a*) *Non-Reflective* Kāmāvacara	Lobha 8, Dosa 2, Moha 2 — 12 Mūlas	8 Mūlas	Kusala {Sahetuka 8, Ahetuka 8}; Akusala Ahetuka 7 — 23	Sahetuka 8, Ahetuka 3 — 11	• • •	54
COSMIC SPHERES, *Mundane*	(*b*) *Reflective* Rūpāvacara	• • •	5 Mūlas	5	5	*Five* Jhānas	15
COSMIC SPHERES, *Mundane*	Arūpāvacara	• • •	4 Mūlas	4	4	*Four* Yogas	12
Supra-mundane	(*c*) *Reflective* Lokuttara	• • •	4 Mūlas	4	• • •	Saññāvedayita-nirodha*	8
	TOTAL	12	21	36	20		89
	Effect on Cosmic Life after Death	Niraya (16) Tiracchānaloka (1) Petaloka (1) Asuraloka (1)	Manussaloka (1) Devaloka (6)	Rūpa-Brahmaloka (1—11) — *Sotāpanna* and *Sakadāgāmin*; Rūpa-Brahmaloka (12-16) Arūpa-Brahmaloka — *Anāgāmin*	Anupādisesa-Nibbāna — *Arhat*	* The fifth *Yoga* and the tenth *Samāpatti* ('Cessation of Perception and Feeling'). Reached for the first	

cease to exist, save and except one by implication and that is the *Rūpakkhandha*, the twenty-eight attributes of which, as concomitants of identity have no physical significance in the highest sphere of cosmic life, i.e., in the world of the Formless Brahmas (*Arūpa-Brahmaloka*). All the *Khandhas*, however, can be eliminated only as objects of meditation, mental concentration, or thought, that is, as *ārammaṇas*.[1] The possibility of their elimination as objects of thought or mental concentration suggests to us the possibility of the withdrawal of our personal interest from them. To enjoy the world best is to withdraw completely our self-interest from them, as the trouble is likely to begin, if we feel or begin to think that our personal interest is at stake. Thus, the Jhānic life is helpful to us in getting away mentally from things that may land us on the shore of pleasure and pain, happiness and misery, good and evil, virtue and vice—in short, the opposites. It helps us also to proceed from enjoyment to enjoyment without the least feeling of there being any personal stake.[2]

To think that the elimination of the five *Khandhas* as objects of thought or mental concentration means the elimination also of them as the constituents of existence or Individuality, is to make a confusion between the psychological and the biological standpoint. A Buddha or an *Arhat* remains as much an individual after the attainment of the Supreme Enlightenment (*Nibbāna*) as the rest of the sentient Beings. Individuality, though a changing one, is inconceivable apart from the combinations of the five *Khandhas*. As the Tathāgata (Buddha) on the dissolution of the body, i.e., after death, continues to be, it logi-

[1] *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, Chaps. iii and viii (*J.P.T.S.*, 1884, pp. 13-14 and 37-38).

[2] Barua, B. M., *Buddhism as a Personal Religion* (Fifth Lecture under the auspices of the Dona Alpina Ratnayake Trust), p. 8 f. Colombo 1944.

cally follows that the continuity of Individuality or Personality is possible only in and through a series of individual existences, resulting from the combinations of those five aggregates. This is the upshot of Sāriputta's arguments pressed against Yamaka's erroneous opinion that an *Arhat* ceases to be after death (*khīṇāsavo bhikkhu kāyassa bhedā ucchijjati, vinassati, na hoti param maraṇā'ti*).[1]

It is evident from the arguments of that great Buddhist apostle Sāriputta that a *Khīṇāsava* or *Arhat* on the dissolution of his body, i.e., after death, goes beyond the reach of the five sinful (*sāsavaṁ*), base-forming (*upādāniyaṁ*), and pain-producing (*dukkhaṁ*) *Upādānakkhandhas*,[2] but the five *Khandhas* as such, without their evil qualities or potency, continue to exist only as objects of thought or mental concentration.[3] In other words, for a sentient Being who dies after the attainment of *Nibbāna* (*Anupādisesanibbāna*), the *upādāna* aspect of the *Khandha* totally disappears but not so its *anupādāna* aspect which exists as a matter of cosmic process, whereby the identity of that Being is continued. This explains the reason why the Buddha on being questioned by some of the Wandering ascetics (*paribbājaka*) of his time, admitted that the Tathāgata exists and, at the same time, does not exist after death (*hoti ca, na ca hoti Tathāgato param maraṇā; n' eva hoti, na na hoti Tathāgato param maraṇā ti*).[4]

The distinction between the five *Khandhas* and the five *Upādāna-Khandhas* as pointed out by Sāriputta during

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[1] *Saṁyutta-Nikāya*, iii. p. 109.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 47 and 114. Cf. *Nāmarūpapariccheda*, *v.* 652 (*J.P.T.S.*, 1913-14, p. 42).

[3] *Saṁyutta-Nikāya*, iii. pp. 111—115.

[4] *Majjhima-Nikāya*, i. pp. 426—432 and 483—489; *Dīgha-Nikāya*, ii. p. 68. Cf. *Madhyamaka-Vṛtti*, ed. L. de la Vallée Poussin, p. 446. St. Petersbourg, 1913.

the lifetime of the Buddha, which gives a new orientation to the concepts of *Khandha* and *Nibbāna*, has been, we regret to admit, hitherto overlooked by all the writers on Buddhism and Buddhist philosophy, thus giving rise to a number of intricate problems which could neither be explained nor clearly understood. The differentiation between the two aspects of *Khandha* in relation to Arhatship, is perhaps the most valuable and important apostolic contribution towards the proper understanding of Buddhism as a new system in the realm of religious thought.

THE BIMETALLIC SCHEME OF CLIVE

BY

NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT.,
University of Lucknow.

The East India Company maintained silver monometallism in Bengal up to 1766, when for the first time Clive introduced a new gold coinage to supplement the *sicca* rupees of silver. This bimetallic plan of 1766 has not so far received the attention it deserves, although in his own day Clive had to answer the charge of having perpetrated frauds in his gold coinage. (*Vide* Lord Clive's Speech in the House of Commons, 30th March, 1772). Opponents of the Calcutta authorities such as Bolts characterised such a gold currency as no better than cheating. (*Vide* Bolts' Considerations, p. 204.) Actually, Clive had no selfish motives in this matter, and he was actuated only by an honest desire to improve the state of existing currency.

The underlying motive of the scheme of 1766 was only to relieve the increasing scarcity of silver, which had become serious owing mainly to the continued drain of silver from Bengal to other settlements and China, and the virtual stoppage of the import of bullion after the acquisition of the Diwani. The extent of the drain of silver will be apparent from the fact that from 1757 to 1766 Bengal lost, by deficiency in the import of bullion and by actual drain of silver, more than eight millions sterling! (*Vide* Verelst's View, etc., p. 86.) The evil was aggravated by such other contributory factors as the decline of trade with the neighbouring countries, the suspension of importation of silver by the European Companies, the large expenses incurred on the troops stationed

outside Bengal, the flight of Mir Qasim with specie worth no less than 13 millions sterling, the annual tribute of 26 lakhs to Shah Alam, and the continued use of the surplus territorial revenues for the provision of the Company's annual investment.

Clive was fully cognisant of the gravity of the growing evil of the scarcity of coin, and he repeatedly requested the Directors to consider some plan to obviate the unfortunate results of the ceaseless drain of bullion from Bengal. In their letter of 31st January, 1766, Clive and the Select Committee warned the Directors that "the annual exports of treasure to China" would lead to the gradual impoverishment of Bengal. (*Vide* Letter to Court, January 31, 1766.) Again, on 24th March they pleaded for some effectual remedy for the evil of the scarcity of silver. (*Vide* Letter to Court, March 24, 1766.) And, in the letter of 9th December they expressed their earnest hope that the annual exports of silver to China would soon be stopped by the Directors. (*Vide* Letter to Court, December 9, 1766.)

These repeated remonstrances and representations, however, went unheeded, and the Directors failed to realise the gravity of the situation. Irfluenced obviously by an extravagant notion of the opulence of Bengal, they under-rated the evils pointed out to them by the authorities of Fort William, and were disinclined to face the difficulties they were likely to encounter by an opposition to the popular expectations. (*Vide* Letter from Court, November 21, 1766.)

To obviate in some measure the alarming consequences of the scarcity of the current specie, Clive decided in 1766 to introduce a gold currency. It has been wrongly assumed so far that Clive considered his bimetallic scheme as a permanent or effective remedy for the scarcity of silver. It clearly appears from the original records that

Clive thought of the bimetallic plan as no more than a *temporary* palliative. He informed the Directors on January 31, 1766, that the proposal for a gold coinage would rather tend "*to palliate than effectually to remedy the evil.*" (*Vide* Letter to Court, January 31, 1766.) Again, a few weeks later Clive reiterated this in the following words, "*This expedient, you are already informed, we only consider as a palliative . . . we have adopted it without scruple, until some more effectual remedy be devised.*" (*Vide* Letter to Court, March 24, 1766.)

Before introducing the gold coinage, Clive and the Select Committee had to discover the relative value of the two metals, gold and silver. From the data received through reliable sources, it appeared that the value of gold nearly approximated to the proportions recognised by the mint indenture in England, and this valuation had already been adopted in the case of the gold pagodas of Madras. This pagoda weighed 2 dwt. 6 grains, and was of the fineness of 20 carats, and contained 45 grains of pure gold. A valuation on a lower scale than that of Madras was not desired, and there were reasons which justified a higher valuation.

For example, it was anticipated that a new demand for gold as current coin was bound to enhance its price. Besides, it was necessary to hold out some inducement to the indigenous bankers to bring gold to the mint. Again, it was apprehended that gold might be exported from Bengal to Europe, if the two metals were to be valued according to the European standard. The Select Committee therefore proposed to establish the par of exchange between the new gold mohur and the silver *sicca* rupee at the rate of fifteen to one. The Council, however, thought that this rate would mean "*too considerable a profit for the merchants and proprietors for bringing their gold to*

the mint." (*Vide* Beng. Pub. Cons., June 2, 1766.) Ultimately, after mature deliberations, it was resolved that the new gold mohur should be issued at a valuation of 8 *per cent* above its intrinsic relative value, according to the proportions of the two metals established by the mint indenture in England.

The regulations for the proposed gold currency were finally approved by the Council on 2nd June, 1766. These are embodied in the consultations of this date, and are as follows :—

"1. That the gold mohurs shall be struck bearing the same impression with the present Murshedabad sicca, and that this mohur shall also be issued in the subdivisions of halves, quarters, and eighths.

"2. That the new coin shall be of the fineness of twenty carats, or it shall contain one-sixth part of an alloy, which reduces it to Rs. 16 :9 :4 per cent, below the value of pure gold, to 14 :7 :7 below the mean fineness of the Sicca and Dehly mohurs, and to 8 :2 :2 one-third beneath the standard of the present Arcot gold mohurs. The reasons for fixing upon this standard are, that it is deemed the most convenient for allowing the proposed encouragement to the merchants and the proprietors of gold, and likewise for avoiding the great delay and expence of refining in a country where the process is not understood, and the materials for conducting it are obtained with difficulty.

"3. That the gold mohur shall be increased from fifteen annas, the present actual weight, to sixteen annas, the better to avoid the inconvenience of fractional numbers in the subdivisional parts and the exchange.

'4. That the par of exchange between the gold mohurs and the silver Sicca rupee shall for the present be estimated at the rate of fourteen to one, reckoning upon the *intrinsic* value of either. Thus, a gold mohur weigh-

ing sixteen annas shall be deemed equivalent to fourteen sicca rupees.

"5. That the silver sicca rupee shall not be less than the standard of 11 oz. 15 dwt. or 13 dwt. better than English standard, whence will arise:—

A profit to the merchant of gold	3 per cent.
A batta on the gold mohur	3 ,, ,,
A charge of coinage and duties	2 ,, ,,
	8 per cent.

which increased value is calculated from the generally-received exchange of gold and silver, and not upon the market-price of gold, which fluctuates daily.

"6. That all payments, whether of a public or a private nature, shall be made at the established batta, and every attempt to create an artificial batta, or exchange, shall be rigorously punished.

"7. That a tender of payment, either public or private, shall in future be equally valid in gold and silver, and that a refusal of the established gold currency shall incur such punishment as this Board may think proper to inflict.

"8. That public notice shall be given to all zemeendars, collectors of the revenue, and others, that the collections may be made indiscriminately in gold and in silver, the former to be received at the mint and treasury, at the rate proposed in the second article; that in the Sicca and Dehly mohurs to be reckoned with an alloy of 14 :7 :7 percent. and the Arcot mohur, with an alloy of 8 :2 :2⅓, which will produce, agreeably to the principle of exchange laid down, the advantage proposed in article the fifth."

Mr. A. Campbell, the assay master, by whose advice and judgment Clive was mainly guided, warned the Coun-

cil against the danger of debasement and other frauds which the over-valuation of gold might encourage. In his letter to the Council, we come across some very interesting remarks and suggestions. (*Vide*. Beng. Pub. Cons , June 2, 1766.) These deserve to be quoted in full. He wrote as follows :—

"The establishing a gold currency in the country appears to me the only practicable method of abolishing that pernicious system of reducing the Batta on Sicca rupees annually. There being now a fixed standard of value for silver, that metal must in time necessarily settle at the precise point which determines the proportion it bears to gold. Neither will the scarcity of any species of rupees affect the Batta, since the gold currency will always afford the means of payment without loss by the exchange. The Batta of the Mohur being invariable, will soon render that of the silver invariable also; or else the principle of exchange will be destroyed, and of consequence the profit to the merchant will become precarious. This effect I think must necessarily flow from the full establishment of a gold currency, and were there no other advantage attending it than reducing to a fixed determinate value the great variety of coins with which business is distracted in this country, that alone would be well worth the experiment.

It will be absolutely necessary that the utmost care be taken to prevent any debasement of the fixed standard of the gold Mohur, which is already rated so high in the exchange. I should myself apprehend that a fraud of such dangerous tendency to the public credit should be punished with death; and as the English laws will not authorize so rigorous a punishment, except for the adulteration of the current coin of Great Britain, that the laws of the country should take place. Your resolution on this head should be published in the mint at Murshedabad; and as a farther check on the coiners, the resident might be re-

quired occasionally to send down specimens of the money to be assayed in Calcutta.

I should likewise imagine that severe penalties should be annexed to the secreting, defacing, clipping, or melting down the new coinage; and that the same, together with the punishment to be inflicted on every attempt to vary the Batta, or obstruct the currency, should be promulgated in every district of the Nabob's dominions."

The objects that Clive had in view in introducing bimetallism may now be analysed. They were, firstly, to alleviate the scarcity of the silver coin, secondly, to check the impositions of the bankers in their arbitrary enhancement and reduction of *Batta* by establishing a coin which would bear a fixed value, thirdly, to encourage the import of gold by putting a current value upon it considerably above its intrinsic one, fourthly, to check the hoarding of gold, and fifthly, to discourage the exportation of gold from Bengal from a certain loss of the established advance. (*Vide* Beng. Pub. Cons., Sept. 1, 1768.)

Clive's plan, however, proved a failure, and the objects underlying it were wholly frustrated. In fact, the scheme made the existing situation still worse, and silver began to disappear from circulation more rapidly. The circumstances which contributed to the frustration of the bimetallic scheme of 1766 are not difficult to understand.

In the first place, gold had so far been only an article of merchandise in Bengal, and its present use in the form of coinage was a novelty to which the people could not be easily accustomed. Verelst points out, "When gold became money, and the mohur had a fixt relation to the Sicca rupee *by law*, such was the effect of habit, that the people continued still to regard the gold mohur rather as bullion than coin, comparing it with merchandize, through the medium of the silver rupee. The consequence was

that when the price of silver increased from the growing scarcity of this metal, a more sensible check was given to the currency of the gold coin, than in countries where the people had been habituated to cosider gold and silver equally as standard price or current coin." (*Vide* Verelst's View, etc., p. 101, footnote.)

In the second place, the foreign companies preferred silver in exchange for their bills of remittance. This compelled people to purchase silver at an enhanced price for the purposes of bills and investments.

In the third place, the necessity of providing for the annual China investment in silver obliged the Fort William authorities themselves to exchange gold at a considerable loss.

In the fourth place, the increasing demand for silver raised its price considerably, and made the gold mohurs all the more unpopular, and the latter had to be exchanged for rupees at a loss of 38 *per cent.* in Calcutta.

In the fifth place, the authorities suspected that the *sarrafs* wilfully obstructed the new currency. Verelst too has casually referred to "*the intrigues of the shroffs,*" but no detailed information is available on this point. (*Vide* Verelst's View, etc., p. 102.)

In the sixth place, it appears that Jagat Seth had advised the authorities to allow some annual *Batta* on the gold mohurs in the same manner as had ever been the practice in the case of the *sicca* rupees, but the neglect of this advice was, in the opinion of Verelst, "*the greatest error in the plan of 1766.*"

In the seventh place, the gold coins were not used by the Company for procuring their annual investments. It was evidently considered too risky an experiment to make payments in a coin to which the people had never been accustomed.

In the last place, the chief reason for the failure of

the scheme was, however, the excessive valuation of the new gold coin. The ratio between gold and silver was officially fixed at 16·45 to 1, although the market ratio was only 14 to 1. Thus, the official rate was 17½ per cent. higher than the market rate. It is this over-rating of gold which was the real error of Clive's plan, as it made the hoarding and exportation of silver profitable. Silver in consequence became more and more scarce, and when it was obtainable at all, it sold at a very high premium, and gold mohurs could be exchanged at a heavy discount.

The following is the number of gold mohurs coined at different mints in Bengal, according to the regulations of 1766, from August 1 of that year to 1768 when these were recalled and the gold currency was abolished (*Vide* Beng. Pub. Cons., Sept. 1, 1768): —

Minted at Calcutta	177,871
,, ,, Patna	15,274
,, ,, Murshidabad	70,000
Total ...	263,145
Of the above—sent to Madras ...	134,417
Returned to the Treasury of Calcutta from circulation	120,161
Balance not brought in ...	8,467

The bimetallic scheme of 1766 is the first serious attempt made by the English in India in the direction of currency reform, and its failure due to inexperience and also ignorance of the laws of economic science was a lesson which proved of some value to Clive's immediate successor, Verelst, when the latter issued another gold coinage in 1769.

INDIA AND POLYNESIA: AUSTRIC BASES OF INDIAN CIVILISATION AND THOUGHT

BY

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI, M.A., D.LIT.,
Professor, Calcutta University.

The languages of India belong to the four great families—Austric, Dravidian, Indo-European and Sino-Tibetan, and through her languages which form very manifest and characteristic expressions of her culture (apart from deeper racial connexions which are not patent so easily) she can claim a relationship with vast spaces on the earth. Her Austric languages link her up with the Polynesian islands in the eastern waters of the Pacific through Burma, Indo-China, Malaya, and the islands of Indonesia, Melanesia and Micronesia: languages allied to Santali and Mundari, and Khasi are spoken in all these tracts. The Dravidian languages of India (including Balochistan) have no relations outside India at the present day, but if the view now becoming established that the original Dravidians who came to India in prehistoric times were a people of Mediterranean speech and culture is the correct one, then we could claim Western Asia (Asia Minor) and Greece and the Greek islands of ancient times as lands of allied speech with India. Our Indo-European, *i.e.*, Aryan speech forms our great spiritual and mental bond of union with Iran, Armenia and the countries of Europe and with ancient Asia Minor (with Hittite) and Central Asia (Sogdian, Old Khotanese and Kachean). Then the Sino-Tibetan speeches and dialects which touch the fringes of India in the North and the East connect us with China and Siam and with Burma and Tibet.

These languages were brought to India at different times by diverse racial groups, mostly from the west, and some of these races with their characteristic speeches passed out of India into the lands of south-east Asia, and into the Indonesian, Micronesian and Melanesian and Polynesian islands further beyond, in prehistoric times. A *résumé* of the present views about these racial and linguistic migrations into India from the west (and from the east) and from India into the east, will be found in the Report Volume on India in general, (Vol. I, Part I) of the *Census of India for 1931* (Delhi 1933, pp. 357—369, and pp. 425—460). It may not be out of place to recapitulate these views once again in the present context, when we are trying to appraise the Austric contribution in the evolution of Indian civilisation. As many as *eight* distinct races are believed to have come to India in pre-historic times, and the present-day people of India are the descendants of these eight races of people more or less mixed with each other. India appears not to have been a country which witnessed the evolution of some kind of man from some anthropoid ape, and no race is autochthonous to India, all her peoples ultimately coming to dwell in her from the outside.

The first race of men to come to India were a Negroid or Negrito people from Africa coming through the coasts of Arabia and Iran, and in India proper they have left very little trace. Their language has not survived, although traces of Negrito blood persists here and there, particularly in some backward tribes in South India and among the Nagas in Assam. The Andamanese who still retain their own language, and some tribes in Malaya speaking dialects of Austric, are the only Negrito survivals in the lands of the Indian Ocean. Further to the east they survive in the Papuans of New Guinea. The Negritos had no culture of their own,—they were just

food-gatherers belonging to the palaeolithic stage of civilisation. The sacredness attributed to the fig tree—*pīpal* or *aśvāttha*—is one of the cult ideas possibly originating among the Negritos.

Following the Negritos, we have second race coming to India in the Proto-Australoids, or Nishādas. They came from the west from Palestine in all likelihood but they appear to have stayed long enough in India to have developed some of their noteworthy racial and cultural characteristics. They were a long-headed people, dark of skin, with flat noses. They probably brought to India the art of pottery, the boomerang and the blow-gun, and totemism was probably the characteristic form of their religion. Tribes of them passed out of India in prehistoric times, and went to Australia: in the Indian area they survive in the Veddahs of Ceylon and in the Malavedans, the Irulas, the Sholagar and similar tribes in southern India, and this type is not uncommon in the lower ranks of India society all over India. The Melanesians probably represent "a stabilised type derived from mixed Negrito and Proto-Australoid elements," and this Melanesian mixed type is found as survivals within India itself. We have no knowledge of the kind of language which was used by the Proto-Australoids.

After these, we have the Austrics in India. A great Austric (*i.e.*, southern) family of speeches was postulated by the German linguistician Father W. Schmidt in 1906, after he had demonstrated a linguistic kinship between the 'Austronesian' languages (the languages of Indonesia or the islands of the Indian Archepelago, e.g., Malay, Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, Balinese and these of the neighbouring other islands, including the Philippines, as well as Malagasi of Madagascar; those of Melanesia and Micronesia, like Fiji, Solomon Is., New Hebrides, New Caledonia, etc., and the Polynesian speeches—Samoan,

Tongan, Tahitian, Marquesan, Maori of New Zealand, Hawaiian, etc.) on the one hand and certain languages of the Asiatic mainland and islands in the south and south-east (e.g., the Kol or Munda speeches of India like Santali, Mundari, Ho, Korku, Savara, Gadaba, etc.; Khasi of Assam; Mon or Talaing of south Burma and South Thailand; Palaung and Wa of Burma; Khmer or Cambodian, and some dialects of Indo-China; probably also Cham of Champa; and Sakai and Semang of Malaya, besides Nicobarese of the Nicobar Islands—these have been labelled as Austro-Asiatic or southern Asiatic languages) on the other. It has been necessary to assume a single Primitive Austric Speech as the ultimate sources of all these modern Austric languages in their two main groups, Austronesian (with its three branches Indonesian or Malayan, Melanesian and Polynesian) and Austro-Asiatic (with its branches Kol or Munda, Mon-Khmer and Nicobarese). The original Austric speech has through contact with other languages and through independent lines of development over the vast area extending from North India to Eastern Pacific has split up in its modern descendants: and the primitive Austric people among whom the language had characterised originally, similarly became modified racially and culturally through contact and commingling with other peoples. Where the original Austric language had become characterised, when exactly, and among what people are problems which have not yet seen solved. It was believed that the Austrics had evolved as a distinct group somewhere in Northern Indo-China, from where they spread south and east into Malaya and the Islands, and west through Assam into India. The Austrics are believed to have been a long-headed people with straight noses, and the other view would connect them with western Asia and the eastern Mediterranean area. According to this second view, they

are probably a very early branch of the Mediterranean race with an agglutinative language, the ancestor of Santali and the rest, who came to India in the wake of the Proto-Australoids, and they mixed a great deal with these latter, modifying their racial type in this manner in some tracts: and from India they penetrated into south-east Asia, and went even further beyond, into the islands of distant Polynesia, their language modifying itself as they progressed further and further to the east in the course of centuries.

This second view would appear to be the more plausible hypothesis. Certain fundamental items in Indian civilisation would appear to go to these primitive Austrics (or Austro-Asiatics) of India—the Austro-Asiatics from India according to this second theory became Austronesians in the Indonesian and in the Pacific islands. The Polynesians of the furthest east with their regular Caucasian features would in that case appear to be the Austrics from India who travelled farthest—of course in stages extending over centuries—and who appear not to have mingled with Negritos and Proto-Australoids either in India or outside India, although in later times there was some Mongoloid admixture. Subsequently, as it would appear, there was a resurgence of Polynesian and Indonesian emigration from the east to the west by the sea, and it came to south India *via* Ceylon; and it may be that from this westward emigration of the Austronesians back to the country of their forbears, which took place in prehistoric times, the cultivation of the coconut and certain matters of social culture were introduced into India.

The Austrics were much in advance of the Proto-Australoids; and the cultivation of rice, of some characteristic Indian plants and vegetables, possibly of weaving, and the taming of the elephant, among other things in the material domain, besides certain spiritual concepts and

religious cults or practices, we owe to them. The Austrics would appear to have spread throughout the greater part of India, but the riverain plains of northern India and the plateaux of central India were the places where they mustered in their strongest. They may even have penetrated into the Himalayan regions in the north and beyond, and in the south they appear to have been reinforced by their Indonesian and Polynesian kinsmen who came by sea from the east.

To come back to the sequence of racial and linguistic migrations into India. Next after the Austrics came the civilised Mediterranean people, long-headed and straight-nosed, of the same stock as the pre-Indo-European Ægean people of Greece, the Islands and Asia Minor, who settled in the Panjab and Sindh and there built up the great city civilisation the remains of which are in Harappa, Mohen-jo-Daro and elsewhere. Along with this civilised Mediterranean people appear to have come some of their neighbours from Anatolia in Asia Minor—tribes of the Armenoid race, short-headed and long-nosed, furnishing the fifth racial element in India. These civilised Mediterraneans and the Armenoids would appear to have spoken the same language—some kind of Primitive Dravidian : and without any reference to their racial type, they can be lumped together linguistically as Dravidians, or Primitive Dravidians of India. These Dravidians appear to have been settled also in Iran, and two of their great tribes the Dāsas and Dasyus (in Iran Dāhas and Dahyus) met the onslaught of the Aryan invaders during the middle and second half of the 2nd millennium B.C. They had spread over Northern India, as far east as Bengal and Assam, and their greatest settlements were made in the south, Aryan pressure in northern and western India probably furnishing the urge. The Austrics and Dravidians evidently lived side by side in

the north Indian plains, and there was certainly some amount of inevitable commingling of blood and culture; but the Dravidians were city-builders while the Austric culture was essentially a village culture, and the religious notions and ideas and languages of the two peoples differed notably. Hence there could be no complete fusion, and it was the diversity of speech and culture presented by Austric and Dravidian in North India that gave the Aryan his great opportunity in imposing upon both his own speech and certain things from his own culture, though he had to make very large compromises. Certain fundamental notions of Hinduism came from the Austrics and Dravidians, and the religion of the Dravidians has been quite properly described as "pre-Vedic Hinduism," considering that so many important items of Hinduism as we find it to-day go back to the Dravidians.

Finally, after Negrito, Proto-Australoid, Austric, Civilised Mediterranean and Armenoid, we have the short-headed Alpine race who spoke in probability an Indo-European tongue—a form of the Aryan speech which was also the language of another and a distinct race of people, the large-limbed, long-headed, straight-nosed Indo-Aryans. The speakers of the Aryan language were thus in two groups, the Alpines, and the (Nordic) Indo-Aryans. Vedic culture took its shape among the latter, but both worked together in the dissemination of the Aryan speech over Northern India; although it must be admitted we cannot be very certain about the Alpines being really Indo-European or Aryan in speech. Any way, after the advent of the long-headed Indo-Aryans from Iran, who came with the Vedic hymns, the final elements in the formation of a composite Austric-Dravidian-Aryan Hindu culture of Ancient India were brought in; and after this we have a most remarkable religious synthesis, which began from the days of the Vedas in

India, culminating in the establishment of what may be called Puranic Hinduism in the early centuries of the Christian era.

The last racial element was furnished by the Mongoloid Sino-Tibetan tribes, short-headed, slant-eyed and snub-nosed, with their distinctive speech, who came to North India and Eastern India through Nepal and Assam as well as Bengal, but who did not penetrate beyond the southern slopes of the Himalayas and the Brahmaputra valley and the plains of North and East Bengal. Probably their advent is posterior to the middle of the 1st millennium B.C., and they just touched the fringe of India in the north and the north-east. Apart from a slight racial admixture in these parts of India, the Mongoloid contribution in the evolution of Indian culture is exceedingly negligible.

Subsequent invasions and immigrations into India in historical times do not present any new race or new kind of speech except for the short-lived episode of the Muslim Arab invasion and conquest of Sindh during the 1st half of the 8th century A.D. There was no further element added, no fresh disturbance of racial types so far established.

The old view that Indian civilisation is mainly the creation of the Aryans has finally been abandoned, through the accession of a mass of new evidences to the contrary. As in other lands, civilisation in India, both in its material and spiritual side, is the result of the inevitable fusion of the culture worlds of the component elements in its population none of which could be annihilated to make room for the others. National cultures take their rise out of international or inter-racial conflicts and adjustments. The culture of ancient India similarly arose from the initial conflicts and subsequent syntheses among the culture worlds of the Austrics, the Dravidians

and the Aryans. The importance of the Aryans in this synthesis is primarily in their furnishing through their language and their strong capacity for organisation the essential bond of union which gathered together the diverse elements into a single unit, howsoever loosely combined that unit might be, and the co-operation of the thinking sections among all these three groups of people sought to harmonise and systematise these elements into the single all-inclusive whole that is Hindu religion and culture. The mysticism of the Austric and Dravidian worked hand in hand with the imagination and practical common sense of the Aryan in evolving that attitude of balance between the unseen world and the seen which is one of the most noteworthy things in the Hindu view of life as it has struck disinterested observers. The sense of a divine substance or spirit pervading the whole universe; the feeling of a profound kinship between man and his surroundings in nature static and nature dynamic through this substance or spirit; the absence of the conception of a jealous god who would not tolerate a rival deity: these notions were deeply seated among the Austrics, and were passed on to the Dravidians and Aryans as the fusion of the three peoples progressed. When accommodation had to be made for diverse mentalities, toleration of the other man's point of view was a virtue which came by itself; and it was thus both from the non-Aryan attitude to life and being and the new philosophy of approach to the unseen by diverse ways combined with the Aryan conquistadores' gradual approximation to the pre-Aryan ways of living and thinking that the distinctive Indian feeling of charity and toleration took its rise.

It is not yet possible to separate the various strands in the non-Aryan or pre-Aryan (*i.e.*, Austric and Dravidian) warp and the Aryan weft which go to make up the fabric of Hindu or Ancient Indian civilisation. The

fundamental ideas in Aryan culture we can cull from the earlier books of the Rigveda, and also from some of the hymns of the Atharvaveda; the last book of the Rigveda (the compilation of the four Veda books could not have taken place earlier than the 10th century B.C., about which time it would seem a simplified form of the script in use among the civilised Dravidians in the Panjab and Sindh as found in the Harappa and Mohen-jo-Daro seals —a sort of Proto-Brahmi—was first employed to reduce to writing the Aryan's language) already shows considerable Austric and Dravidian as well as extra-Indian western influence, as does most of the Atharvaveda. The Aryan god-world was inhabited by strongly individualised anthropromorphic deities, Indra, Agni, Vāyu, Pūshan, Sūrya, Ushas, the two Aśvins, the Maratus, etc.; the Aryan's religion was more materialistic and less spiritual than later Hinduism. His conception of the hereafter was crude—man was gathered unto his fathers in a vague sort of existence; the later philosophical notions of *Karma* and *Saṃsāra* were as yet unknown when the Aryans were composing their hymns outside India and within India, say prior to 1000 B.C. His approach to his gods was frankly in a spirit of *do ut des*,—he offered to them the good things he ate and drank—meat, barley-cakes, butter and milk and the *soma*-drink—through the fire, so that he might get in life what he coveted most,—sons, cattle and horses, wealth, land, victory over his foes. This sort of religion was given official or formal recognition when the Aryan dominated the scene in Northern India. But the religion and mentality of the Austric and Dravidian masses, ignored in the Aryan's official religious literature Vedas and their appendages the Brāhmaṇas, did not die, but made a slow reconquest of the entire Indian domain of thought, bringing the descendants of the Aryan conquerors also within its pale. The great con-

cepts of the divinity in later Hinduism which centre round the figures of Śiva and Umā and Viṣṇu; the Hindu ritual of *pūjā,* infinitely more spiritual in its import than the Aryan ritual of *homa* or sacrifice through the fire; the ideas and practices which may be summed up by the term *yoga;* probably also the organisation of society into castes which were much more elastic in ancient times than now: all these are now looked upon as the gifts of the city-dwelling civilised Dravidians of India. Script, architecture and many other crafts also came from the same source.

The contribution of the Austrics on the material side can be more satisfactorily appraised through linguistic palaeontology than that on the religious, that is, mental and spiritual side. Jean Przyluski and others have attempted to give some indications in this line (cf. *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India,* a series of articles by Jean Przyluski, Sylvain Lévi and Jules Bloch, translated from the French, with other new material, by Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, Calcutta University, 1929). On the religious side, in the direction of both religio-philosophical notions on the one hand and cults and ceremonies on the other, it is not so easy to propose definite inheritances from the Austric world in the composite Hindu domain, as except among certain backward survivals like the Kol or Munda peoples, the masses of Austrics have become absorbed in the Hindu and Musalman masses of Northern India. Yet things like the use of the betel leaf and betel nut and of turmeric and vermillion in Hindu ritual would appear to be Austric in origin; and some cults and practices of a magical import, like *nichāwar* in Northern India and *nichani* or *baran* in Bengal, which are meant to avert evils, and the rite of *Strī-ācāra* in marriages in Bengal, are also of Austric origin.

Nothing more characteristically Indian and Hindu in the philosophic plane can be mentioned than the doctrine

of transmigration. Yet it was not known to the Aryans, and their Indo-European kinsmen outside India did not come to develop this or any similar doctrine till very late times (the Celtic Druids probably borrowed the notion from the Iberian precursors of the Celtic Indo-European in Western Europe and Britain, and the case of the Greek philosopher Pythagoras teaching the doctrine of metempsychosis is quite on another plane). It has been suggested that this doctrine together with philosophical notions of *Karma* evolved on the basis of certain primitive beliefs among the Austrics of the human soul passing after death into animals and plants.

The Polynesians were the easternmost branch of the Austrics, and if India were really the centre of dispersion for this race, the Polynesian expansion must have been fairly ancient. Probably the first bands left India in the early centuries of the first millennium B.C., when the Vedic Aryans were already in the field. By the first half of the 1st millennium A.D. the Polynesians had established themselves in their centre of dispersion which was Tahiti. The religions including cosmogonic notions which the Polynesians took with them (these are found among all sections of them, extending from Hawaii in the North to New Zealand in the South, and Rapa Nui or Eastern Island in the east to Samoa in the West) have a strange resemblance with philosophic Hinduism as in the Upanishads and in one or two stray hymns of the 10th book of the Rigveda: particularly the *Nāsadīya* Hymn (Rigveda X. 129). A study of Polynesian Religion in that invaluable monograph on the subject by E. S. Craighill Handy (Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 34, Bayard Dominick Expedition Publication No. 12, Honolulu, Hawaii, 1927) will make the resemblances most palpable. "The ancient esoteric teaching in cosmology postulated the pre-existence of a self-created World Soul

which evolved the world and the universe out of itself, and called manifest existence out of nothingness by the power of the Word. Many of the creational accounts make no mention of this Being—the evolutionary process by which the universe evolved from nothingness is stated merely as a succession of stages, the first of which is characterised as Void or Night. [Desire is one stage in a Maori enumeration of 18 such stages]. But other records that describe the course of evolution in terms similar to these definitely attribute to a Supreme Being as the Cause the emergence of tangible and visible reality out of or in the empty and lightless Void in which this Being existed alone.'' This history of creation is described in magnificent hymns in New Zealand, in Hawaii, in Tahiti and elsewhere which seem to be echoes or paraphrases of the Ṛigvedic Hymn of Creation.

The question on this, and similar other vital matters where we have agreement in early Indian thought and Polynesian thought, early Indian usage and Polynesian usage, would be—did the ancestors of the Polynesians borrow these ideas and usages and practices from the Aryans in India, and then developed them in their own special island environment in the Pacific; or, did the ancient Indian notions as in the Aryan books—the Vedas and the Upanishads and the rest—and the Polynesian ones derive themselves from a common source—the Indian Austric, contemporaneous with the Vedas and with the period inaugurating fusion of Austric, Dravidian and Aryan ideas in a composite whole, and the ultimate ancestor of the Polynesian world in some of its most essential aspects? Considering that the Indo-European world outside India does not show any trace of these and similar ideas, and that these are found in the Austric domains outside India, and further that the Austric world within India survives in the present day Hindu world which it

helped to build up, say during the first millennium B.C., it would be only reasonable to assume that the Indo-Europeans in India, the Aryans, after their contact with the Austrics, found a deep element of thought and mysticism, with which they had themselves nothing to compare, and it was inevitable that these great ideas should find an important place, a basic position, in the philosophical system built up jointly by the Austric, Dravidian and Aryan.

Thus, this notion of Brahman, the Supreme Spirit beyond the conception of the manifest gods, dwelling in the Void by Itself and creating the world out of Itself, through Its Will or Desire, can be looked upon as an Austric contribution in the evolution of Indian thought. Connected with this is the analogous concept known to us by the Polynesian term *Mana*, the "psychic dynamism of Nature," the inherent mystic force or power in everything which manifests itself as its special virtue or excellence or effectivity. This concept we have in ancient (Aryan Hindu) India as *brahman*, *śakti*, *tapas*, *tejas*, *brahma-tejas*, *vibhūti*, etc., as an inexplicable, but cultivable and transmissible force in man and nature. Another Polynesian idea was that of the *tapu* or *tabu*, a thing, a place or an act forbidden as "psychically dangerous," because it is either divine in itself and must be kept from contamination from the common and the corrupt, or it is corrupt and vicious in itself and hence dangerous to the common and the divine. A. Weber saw (as early as 1876) in the unexplained Atharvaveda word *tābuva*, a very old form of this Polynesian word, as it was current in India, 3000 years ago, as we can postulate now with less daring, among the non-Aryan Austrics. In any case ideas analogous to *tapu* have a prominent place in India, and we have in Hinduism an elaborate system of things forbidden—*niṣiddha*, leading to certain excesses like untouchability

in social life. The quality in nature—the higher, spiritual *Purusha* or the Male Principle, and the lower materialistic *Prakṛti* or the Female Principle, has its anologues in Austric religion as in Polynesia and elsewhere; but here we have to reckon with similar conceptions, of both Aryan and Dravidian origin (that of the Sky Father—*Dyaush Pitar*—and Earth Mother—*Pṛthivī Mātā* among the Aryans; and of *Umā* or *Mā* the Great Mother Goddess and Śiva her male counterpart, the Absolute in its passive aspect, among the Dravidians and among their kinsmen in Asia Minor and in the Ægean Islands and Pre-Indo-European Greece).

A perusal of Polynesian religion in its fundamentals is sure to be thought-provoking in studying the evolution of our ancient Indian religion and culture in its true pre-Aryan bases below the outward Aryan superstructure, as through language at least the Polynesian culture world shows basic links with pre-Aryan India. A new orientation is in this way presented in the unravelling and understanding of the hidden contexts of ancient Indian philosophico-religious and cultural concepts and usages. I shall close the present paper by referring (I had occasion to refer to it on a previous occasion) to an unexpected point of contact between the Aryan world and the Austric world in India. The late Professor Panchanan Mitra, our colleague in the University Department of Anthropology, was the first Indian scholar to tour in Polynesia studying the Polynesian people in their cultural evolution, and it struck him that the Aryan Indian computation of the days of the lunar month by separate names for the thirty nights of the moon agreed with the practice among the Polynesians; and the Sanskrit (Vedic) names *Rākā*='full-moon, full-moon night', and *Kuhū*='new moon, new-moon night', have their exact counterparts in Polynesian lan-

guages; *e.g.*, Maori *Rakau-nui*, Mangaian *Rakau*, Tahitian *Ra'au-mua*, Hawaiian, *La'au*='Full-moon night; and *Kuhū* may be compared with Marquesan *Ku'u* which does not mean 'New moon' or 'New Moon night' but rather 'the night after the full-moon, the 17th night, the first night of the new moon.' (*A Vedic Night of the Moon from Polynesia* by Dr. Panchanan Mitra, Calcutta Oriental Journal I, 30, July 1934.) (The unexplained Vedic name *Sinīvālī*='the new moon night with the crescent visible' is in all likelihood a further instance of Polyglothism in Indo-Aryan, being a combination of a Semitic Babylonian—Akkadian—*Sin*='Moon' and a Dravidian *veḷ* 'white light, ? moon'—cf. Tamil *veḷ*='white', *veḷiccam, oḷi*='light', *veḷḷi*='silver, evening star', with which we may compare New Indo-Aryan Hindi *cā̃dī*='silver' from *cā̃d*=*candra*='the moon'). In the absence of other evidence, it will be quite permissible to assume that the Polynesian words on the one hand and the Vedic ones *Rākā* and *Kuhū* on the other are both derived from common source-forms in Indian Austric speech of three thousand years ago. Professor Mitra also compared the Polynesian name for the constellation of the Pleiades—viz., *Matariki* (with the heliacal rising of which they counted the commencement of the year), with Sanskrit *mātṛkā*='little mother, nurse': the legend of the six stars of the constellation of the Pleiades nursing the infant God of War Skanda or Kumāra may have had something to do with an old Austric name for the constellation, the source of the Polynesian *Matariki* (Maori), *Mata-ri'i* (Tahitian), etc., being Sanskritised as *Mātṛkā*, followed by an explanatory legend of the *Kṛttikās* or the Pleiades being Mothers to Skanda, named *Kārttikeya* or 'son of the Kṛttikās' because of that.

ON THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE TADDHITA SŪTRAS IN THE AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ

BY

S. P. CHATURVEDI, M.A.,

K. E. College, Amraoti.

The method adopted by Pāṇini (=P) in arranging the Sūtras (=S.), prescribing TADDHITA (=T) suffixes, is in line with his genius seen in the composition of the AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ. In dealing with T. formations, he had to tackle a vast variety of words. On the one hand, a number of words required the same suffix in quite a good number of meanings, *e.g.*, the suffix अण् was prescribed for expressing a large number of meanings, including among others the following :— तस्यापत्यम् (4-2-92) ; तस्य समूहः (4-2-37) ; तदधीते तद्वेद (4-2-59) ; तदस्मिन्नस्तीति देशे तन्नाम्नि (4-2-67); तेन निर्वृत्तम् (4-3-68); तस्य निवासः (4-2-69); अदूरभवश्च (4-2-70); तत्र जातः (4-3-29); तत्र भवः (4-3-53); तत आगतः (4-3-74); सोऽस्य निवासः (4-3-89); तेनप्रोक्तम् (4-3-101); तस्येदम् (4-3-120) ;तस्य विकार (4-3-134) and many others. On the other hand, different suffixes were to be prescribed for expressing the same suffix-meaning, *e.g.* the following are the suffixes prescribed for expressing the meaning of possession (मत्वर्थीय):—मतुप् (5-2-94) ; लच् (...96); इलच् (...99); श and न (...100); ण (...101); विनि (...102); अण् (...103); उरच् (...106); र (...107); मः (...104); व (...109); ईरच् and ईरन् (...101); वलच् (...112); इनि and ठन् (...115); ठञ् (...118); यप् (...120); युस् (...123) ; ग्मिनि (...124); आलच् and आटच् (...125); अच् (...127); ब, ति, तु, त, य, स (...138); भ (...139); and युस् (...140).

Thus we see that P. had to arrange the S., prescribing Taddhita-suffixes in *such a way* as to bring together words, ending with the same suffix (though in different suffix-meanings), and *also* those words, which (though receiving different suffixes) have the same suffix-meaning. We have, therefore, in the arrangement of Taddhita S., a double principle of classification, based on the consideration of suffixes and meanings thereof. In the first place, general S., laying down the same suffix (in different meanings), are grouped together; and then within that group each general S. is followed by special S., laying down in the same meaning a different suffix or suffixes in connection with specific stems, *e.g.*, under the अधिकार of अण् suffix, each of the general S. (See the list of S. above), prescribing the अण् suffix in different meanings, is followed in its turn by a number of special S. which prescribe a different suffix or suffixes in the same meaning in connection with specific stems. (See specially S. 4-1-95 to 4-1-161 following the general S. 4-1-92).

But this is not all. There are other complexities to be dealt with. There are special S prescribing for specific stems a suffix in a *number* of meanings. But in *some* meanings these special S. should not operate, e.g., the stem नदी receives (4-2-97) the suffix ढक् in a number of meanings, such as तत्र जातः (4-3-25); तत आगतः (. . . 74); प्रभवति (. . . . 83); सोऽस्य निवासः (. . . . 89); तस्येदम् (. . . .120); but *not* in such meanings as साऽस्य देवता(4-2-24); तस्य समूहः (...37) ; तदस्मिन्नस्तीति देशे तन्नाम्नि (...67) ; अदूरभवश्च (...70) To solve this difficulty, P. has arranged these special S. in such a manner that they operate only in certain (desirable) suffix-meanings, and not in other (undesirable) suffix-meanings. With a view to bring out clearly the method and rationale in the arrangement of TADDHITA S. we propose to give below an analysis of those S. and discuss the problem arising therefrom in the end.

A. अण् suffix; 4-1-83 to 4-3- end.

B. ठक् suffix; 4-4-1 to 4-4-74.

C. यत् suffix; 4-4-75 to 4-4-end.

D. छ suffix; 5-1-I to 5-1-36.

E. ठञ् suffix; 5-1-18 to 5-1-114.

[ठक् suffix; 5-1-19 to 5-1-63.]

F. Miscellaneous groups. (For details see the end).

The S. under the अधिकार or अण् suffix may be further grouped under four heads:

1. The S. 4-1-84 to 4-1-87.
2. The S. 4-1-92 to 4-2-91.
3. The S. 4-2-92 to 4-3-24.
4. The S. 4-3-25 to 4-3-end.

The S. under the sub-heads 1. and 3. prescribe special suffixes for specific stems in meanings mentioned in S. (4-1-92 to 4-3-end) and (4-3-25 to 4-3-133) respectively. But the sub-heads 2 and 4 include general S., which prescribe the general suffix अण् in a good number of suffix-meanings and are followed by special S. (prescribing special suffixes for specific stems), where necessary. A question may arise as to why the S. under 1. and 3. are not grouped together. In answering this question we get an idea of P.'s genius. A close study of these S. will reveal that P. had a special purpose in dividing them in two froups. The scope of the S. is not the same. The S. (4-1-84 to 87) are to be distinguished from the S. (4-2-92 to 4-3-24). The former are applied in a wider range of suffix-meanings. i.e., all the meanings mentioned in the S. from 4-1-92 to the end of the third quarter of the fourth chapter; while the latter are applicable in the suffix.-meanings, other than those given in the S. (4-1-92 to 4-2-91). Thus *e.g.*, the S. (4-1-84), under the head 1. is applied in the suffix-meanings mentioned in the general S. (4-2-68) *as well as* in the suffix-meaning mentioned in the general S. (4-3-116).

But the S. (4-2-94) under the sub-head 3. will *not* be applied in the suffix-meaning mentioned in the general S. (4-2-37). In short, the S. under 1. are applied in the suffix-meanings of the S. under 2. and 4. *both* : but the S. under 3. are applied in the suffix-meanings of the S. under 4. *only*.

Similarly, there is a special significance in the location of the S. प्राक्क्रीताच्छः (5-1-1). It may be argued that this S. should have been placed immediately before 5-1-4 (तस्मै हितम्), as other (अधिकार) sūtras are. Cf : the S. 4-4-75 (प्राग्घिताद्यत्) placed immediately before the S. 4-4-76 (तद्वहति रथ...) the end of the अधिकार of the ठक् suffix. But this reasoning would not stand scrutiny. P. had a special purpose in allowing the S. (5-1-2 to 5-1-4) to intervene between 5-1-1 and 5-1-5. If the S. 5-1-2-4 were placed before 5-1-1 or at the end of the fourth chapter, we would not have obtained the optional suffix छ i addition to यत् in 5-1-4. One may ask how we know the suffix-meaning in 5-1-2/4, for the accepted meaning is mentioned in the following S. and no meaning is mentioned in these sūtras. The reply to this querry is that the S. 5-1-1 is an अर्थाधिकार सूत्र and supplies to the S. in sequel the suffix-meanings, *i.e.*, it lays down that the S. 5-1-2/37 will prescribe the suffix छ (if no suffix is specially mentioned) in the suffix-meanings mentioned in 5-1-2/37. The suggestion that the S. 5-1-2/4 should have been placed after 5-1-5 to solve the above difficulty is not acceptable; for then these S. would be applicable in the meaning of 5-1-5 only, and *not* inall meanings mentioned in 5-1-2/37. Consequently we would not have obtained the form शङ्कव्यं दारु by 5-1-2 in the suffix-meaning of the S. 5-1-12.

In the same way, there is a special purpose in the location of the S. 5-1-37 (तेन क्रीतम्). Apparently it seems that this S. should have been placed before the S. 5-1-18;

for in fact the अधिकार of the suffix छ goes upto 5-1-18 and not upto 5-1-37. Cf. the remark in the *Tattvabodhinī* commentary on 5-1-17. Besides in its present place this S. serves no purpose; because all the S. prescribing for specific stems specific suffixes in the sense of तेन क्रीतम् are placed before and not after 5-1-37. But all this is only a conjecture. If this suggestion were accepted, the S. 5-1-20/36 would be applicable in the meaning of तेन क्रीतम् only. In the present order of these S., the S. 5-1-20/36 prescribe specific suffixes in meanings mentioned in 5-1-37/63; and the meaning तेन क्रीतम् is included therein. Thus here again the specific suffixes for specific stems are shown earlier and their meanings later. Cf. the S. placed in groups 1 and 3 under the अधिकार of the suffix अण्.

From 5-2-1 begins the miscellaneous group of S., having no general suffix as a rule. In different suffix-meanings, suffixes are laid down for specific stems or stems of indicated type. The S. in the later three quarters of the fifth chapter are comprised under this group, which marks the end of the TADDHITA suffixes. But even here P. has a plan in arranging the S. and has not put them haphazardly. The following is an analysis of these S.

A.	Miscellaneous suffixes (1)	5-2-1 to 5-2-end.
B.	विभक्तिसंज्ञक suffixes	5-3-1 to 5-3-26.
C.	Suffixes added to दिक्शब्द stems	5-3-27 to 5-3-41.
D.	Suffixes added to संख्या and other stems	5-3-42 to 5-3-69.
E.	Suffixes under the अधिकार of क	5-3-70 to 5-3-95.
F.	Suffixes meaning similarity (इवार्थे)	5-3-96 to 5-3-110.
G.	तद्राज suffixes	5-3-112 to 5-3-end.
H.	Miscellaneous suffixes (2)	5-4-1 to 5-4-end.

We shall close this cursory treatment of the TADDHITA suffixes by pointing out the reason for

grouping Miscellaneous suffixes under two heads, A and H. The S. under the head A. are governed by the leading S. 4-1-82, the operation of which extends to the end of the second quarter of the fifth chapter. The application of the S. 4-1-82 is necessary in case of the S. under the head A, for otherwise it will remain undetermined whether the suffixes are to be added to the first or the other word of the analytic-statement (विग्रह वाक्य), of the complex-formation (तद्धितवृत्ति) desired to be formed. In the case of the S. under the head H. this question does not arise, as there is only one word in their analytic statement. Cf. The remark of Nagesha on the S. 4-1-82.

'स्वार्थिकेष्वनेक समर्थाऽसंभवात् 'प्राग्दिश' इत्युत्तरं न 'समर्थःपदविधिः' इत्यस्य संबन्ध इति बोद्धयम् ।'

The operation of the leading S. (4-1-82) is therefore not seen in the case of the S. after 5-2-end. Hence the two miscellaneous groups are separated by P. by inserting the third quarter between them. As each of these two miscellaneous groups occupy exactly one quarter of the AṢHṬĀDHYĀYĪ, we have a fine symmetry of the miscellaneous suffixes grouped in the beginning and the end of the Miscellaneous group, mentioned earlier in our analysis of T. sūtras.

KINGDOM OF MEKALĀ

BY

B. CH. CHHABRA, M.A., M.O.L., PH.D, (LUGD.)

A recently discovered copper-plate charter[1] has proved of immense value to the student of early history of India inasmuch as it illuminates a dark spot, introduces a hitherto unknown line of rulers, reveals the existence of a separate kingdom, rectifies the current notions thereabout and, last but not least, furnishes us with a perfect specimen of a very rare type of an old alphabet.

The record in question hails from a village, called Bamhanī, in the Sōhāgpur *tahsīl* of the Rewa State, Baghelkhand, Central India. It is gratifying to note that the Rewa State has of late yielded some very important early inscriptions.[2] In that respect it is no longer behind its neighbour, the Nāgaudh State, which is already well-known for a number of ancient epigraphs[3] found within its bounds. Now that the Rewa Durbar has an archaeological department of its own, one may expect that many more antiquities will soon come to light within the state.

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[1] It has been edited by the writer of the present paper and is under publication in the *Epigraphic Indica.*

[2] For instance, Silaharā cave inscriptions (*Epigraphic Indica,* Vol. XXIII, pp. 30 ff.); Bāndhogarh cave inscriptions (Ibid., Vol. XXVI,); *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India,* 1938-39); Singraulī plate of *Mahārāja* Lakshmaṇa (*An. Rep., A.S.I.*, 1936-37, p. 88); etc.

[3] Especially those belonging to the Parivrājaka and Uchchakalpa kings (Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions,* Nos. 21—25, 27—31). It may be recalled that the dates of the Uchchakalpa kings are referred by some to the Kalachuri era and by others to the Gupta era. The latter view has recently been shown to be more acceptable (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 171 ff.).

The epigraph with which we are concerned here is a land-grant of the usual type. It is, however, the preamble of the document that is of chief interest to us. This gives the genealogy of the grantor and also supplies certain other information concerning him. He is called Bharatabala, or simply Bharata. His pedigree is as follows:

1. Jayabala
2. Vatsarāja (son of 1).
3. Nāgabala (*Mahārāja*, s. of 2 from Queen Drōṇabhaṭṭārikā).
4. Bharata or Bharatabala (*alias* Indra, *Mahārāja*, s. of 3 from Queen Indrabhaṭṭārikā).

It is noteworthy that no such title as *Mahārāja* is attached to the names of the first two members. Nāgabala and his son Bharatabala, besides being styled *Mahārāja*, bear also the epithets *Paramamāhēśvara Paramabrahmaṇya* and *Paramagurudēvatādhidaivataviśēsha*. Further, Bharatabala is stated to have had only one wife, namely Queen Lōkaprakāśā, who was a princess of Kōsalā. This state of affairs naturally lends itself to the inference that the present royal house originated with Jayabala whose status might have been that of a mere chieftain but whose successors managed to acquire greater authority by annexing more territory to their dominions.

These kings belonged, as the inscriptions disclosed, to the Pāṇḍava lineage of Mēkalā,[4] and herein lies the importance of the present record. The Pāṇḍava kings of Kōsalā are known to us through various inscriptions pertaining to them, that have already been discovered and

[4] The inscription under discussion further substantiates the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal's statement: "Prof. Kielhorn who thought that the spellings '*Kōsalā*, and '*Mekalā*' were wrong, substituted 'Kōsala', 'Mēkala'. But the Purāṇa text shows that the inscriptional forms are correct . . ." (K. P. Jayaswal, *History of India 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.*, p. 84, n. 1).

published.[5] The present record introduces to us a separate branch of that ancient house of the epic fame, having Mēkalā as its kingdom. Presumably the Kōsalā and Mēkalā branches of the Pāṇḍavas were two rival clans, later on united in friendship by ties of matrimony, as the alleged union of Bharatabala with a Kōsalā princess tends to show. It is a pity that the inscription is silent as to the family and parentage of this lady. Such information would have shed welcome light on the relation between the royal families of Mēkalā and Kōsalā. The two copious verses devoted to the description of Lōkaprakāśā mostly recount her excellent virtues and impart little of historical interest beyond the fact that she hailed from Kōsalā.[6] It is, however, with some emphasis that she has been spoken of as one having a divine origin,[7] which might point to the high family she had come of, and there is nothing against the supposition that this alludes to the Pāṇḍava family of Kōsalā.

Of outstanding interest is the reference to Mēkalā as a country, constituting a separate kingdom, ruled over by a line of Pāṇḍava king in the early centuries of the Christian era. We are familiar with Mēkalā and Mēkalakanyakā, the former referring to the Maikal range of hills and the latter to the river Nerbuda (Narmadā), but Mēkalā, as a country, is little known. All the same, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and some of the *Purāṇas* do mention Mēkala, occasionally spelt as Mēkhala, as a country and also as a people inhabiting it. Even in

[5] See No. 47 of the Genealogical Lists of the Various Dynasties appended to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*.

[6] The original reads *jātā yā Kausalāyām*. The last word has been taken as a mistake for *Kōsalāyām*. The context is not in favour of taking Kausalā as the name, like Kauśalyā, of a lady to be the mother of Lōkaprakāśa.

[7] The original has *svayam=iha suralōkād=āgatā Jāhnav =īva* and *amarajakulajāṁ kīrtim=uchchair=dadhānā*.

Varāhamihira's *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* it finds a place among the mountains and the peoples of the eastern region.[8] Drawing upon such sources, Dr. B. C. Law has given us a brief account of the Mēkalas whom he describes as "a small tribe inhabiting the tract of country comprising the modern Amarakaṇṭaka hills and the surrounding region."[9] The utmost that we learn from the *Purāṇas* is that there was a line of seven kings in Mēkala.[10] They do not mention the name of any of the kings or that of the dynasty. This want is supplied by the newly discovered record.

It was left to the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal to sift the Puranic data and attempt a connected history of the Mēkalā rulers, Most of his conclusions on this question, however, stand contradicted in the light of the information furnished by the inscription under consideration. For instance, according to him, Mēkalā was then a province in the Vākāṭaka empire and was ruled over by the Pallavas whom he considers to be relatives of the Vākāṭakas.[11]

Speaking of the re-establishment of the empire of the Vākāṭakas, Dr. Jayaswal says: "On the fall of the Gupta Empire, under Narēndrasēna, they once more became a sovereign power in the Berar-Maratha country including Koṅkaṇa and up to Kuntala, in Western Malwā and Gujarat, and in Kōsalā and Mēkalā including Andhra."[12] This statement, it may be pointed out, is largely based upon an expression in the Bālāghāṭ plates of Pṛithvishēṇa II, which refers to the Vākāṭaka monarch Narēndrasēna, the father of Pṛithvishēṇa II, and reads as follows: *Kōsalā-Mēkalā-Mālav-ādhipaty-abhyarch-*

[8] See *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXII, 1893, pp. 110, 185.

[9] B. C. Law, *Ancient Indian Tribes*, Vol. II, p. 28.

[10] See Pargiter's, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 51. According to Dr. B. C. Law, 'the Vishṇupurāṇa refers to ten kings who had Mēkala as their land of birth.' *Op. cit.*

[11] K. P. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, pp. 82—84, 87, 92, 93, 181, etc.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 82.

chita-śāsana. It may be observed that we have no right to infer, as has obviously been done, from this that the countries mentioned herein come under the direct sway of Narēndrasēna, for the passage describes him simply as one 'whose commands were honoured or obeyed by the lords of Kōsalā, Mēkalā and Mālava.' On the contrary, according to it, each of the named countries had a lord of its own, though in a way subordinate to Narēndrasēna.

Curiously enough, one of the verses in our inscription seems to contain a veiled reference to this overlord, Narēndrasēna. The contents of that stanza are ambiguous. In the natural sequence, it speaks of Bharatabala, but, at the same time, allows itself to be construed as descriptive of Narēndrasēna also. Among the words with *double entendre* the chief one is *narēndra,* which, when applied to Bharatabala, means 'king', while otherwise it stands for the proper name of the Vākāṭaka sovereign concerned. It may therefore be inferred that the Pāṇḍavas of Mēkalā acknowledged the suzerainty of the Vākāṭakas and, further, that Bharatabala was a contemporary of Narēndrasēna who is known to have flourished about A.D. 435—470.

The latter inference is borne out also by the script employed in Bharatabala's charter. It very closely resembles that used in the Majhgawāṁ plates of the Parivrājaka *Mahārāja* Hastin,[13] sharing with it the peculiarity of being nail-headed or acute-angled, but, at the same time, differs from it in showing southern characteristics instead of northern.

[13] Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions,* No. 23.

TANŪKṚT

BY

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.

RV. VIII. 79. 3 reads: *Tvaṁ soma tanūkṛdbhyaḥ dveṣobhyo'nyakṛtebhyo uru yantāsi varūtham,* and this is quoted verbatim in TS. I. 3. 4. 1, VI. 3. 2. 2, ŚB, III. 6.3.7 and elsewhere. I translate, "Thou, O Soma, dost hold up (for us) a broad shield against the shape-shifters, the hatreds, those who make themselves out to be others"; the reference being to the Rākṣasa and Asura Soma-guardians such as Kṛśānu who attempt to recover the Soma as the Falcon brings it down from the Sky. Our translation will be justified as we proceed.

We are chiefly concerned with the word *tanūkṛt*, but also with *anyakṛt*. There can be no doubt that both are Tatpuruṣa compounds, with *tanū* and *anya* as objects of the verbal noun, and comparable with such words as *mantra-kṛt* and *jyotiṣkṛt*. Sāyaṇa in comment on the RV. context renders *tanūkṛdbhyaḥ* by *kṛśīkurvadbhyaḥ*, "those who make themselves little", or alternatively by *aṅgānāṁ vicchedbhyaḥ*, "those who cut off their bodies"; in comment on the TS. contexts he says *śarīraṁ kṛntanti*, "they cut away their body". Mahīdhara on the ŚB. passage has *tanūṁ kṛntanti, chindanti*, "they cut away, or cut off, their bodies". Grassmann's first meaning is "Leib schaffend". For Keith on the TS. passages, the meaning of *tanūkṛt* is "uncertain", but *kṛt* can only mean "making"; for him, "*anyakṛtāni* is nonsense". Eggeling on the ŚB. context remarks that *tanūkṛt* should mean "body-making". Actually, there can be no doubt that the verb

is *kṛt*, and the literal meanings of the two compounds, "body-making" and "other-making".

Sāyaṇa's explanations of ṚV. III. 48. 4 and VII. 101. 3 *yathā vaśaṁ tanvaṁ cakre* are *nānāvidharūpopetaṁ cakre* and *svakīyaṁ śarīram . . . yathākāmaṁ, . . . cakre*, "assumed various forms" and "shaped his body as he would"; and this is manifestly correct. Similarly ṚV. III. 53. 8. where Indra *rūpaṁ rūpaṁ . . . bobhavīti, māyāḥ kṛṇvānas tanvam pari svām, i.e.*, "assumes one form after another (cf. ṚV. VI. 47. 18), making around himself magical appearances"; Sāyaṇa interpreting *yadrūpaṁ kāmayate . . . tadrūpātmako bhavati . . . nānāvidhāni śarīrāṇi nirmimīte*. A case in point is when he steals Medhatīthi's Soma, "assuming the form of a ram" (*meṣasya rūpaṁ kṛtvā*) and conversely his own form (*svam eva rūpaṁ kṛtvā*, JB. III. 233, JAOS. XVIII. 38). It is hard to see how any commentator at all familiar with the texts can ever have been mystified. A full explanation of both words can be found in ŚB. III. 4. 3. 6, *Yaḥ samidbhāro vā svādhyāyaṁ vā visṛjate*[1] *taṁ ha smetara-syaivetaraṁ rūpeṇetarasyetaram asura-rakṣasāni jighāṅsantī. Teha pāpaṁvadantaupasameyur, iti vai māṁ tvam acikīrṣīr iti, mā jighāṅsāṅsīriti. Agnirhaiva tathā nānyam uvādāgniṁ tathā nānyaḥ*, "Now (of the Gods that had been initiated), whichever of them brought firewood or uttered his text, him the Asura-Rakṣasas sought to strike, one in the shape of one of them, and another in the shape of the other. They (the Gods), indeed, came together, evilly speaking, and said 'This is what you have done to me! You tried to strike me!'. But Agni neither spoke thus to any other, nor did any other speak so to him". So (*ib.* 8, 9) the Gods saw that the only way to avoid this predicament was to be like Agni, and they said,

[1] The reference is to the Vaisarjana offerings of TS. VI. 3. 2.

"Let us be of his shape (*asyaiva rūpam asāma*), thereby we shall altogether avoid the Rakṣasas, and thereby attain to the world of heavenly-light". They became of Agni's shape, saying to him, "O Agni, Defender of the Operation" (*vratapā*)[2], what thy body is, be that in me, and what my body is, be that in thee (*yā tava tanūr iyaṁ sā mayi, yā mama tanūr eṣā sā tvayi*); may the operations of us two operators, O thou Lord of the Operation, be combined" (*saha nau vratapate vratinor vratāni*). Thus VS. V. 6, to which ŚB. adds "Whereby he (the sacrificer wraps a skin[3] about his body, by means of Agni"[4] (*tad agninā tvacaṁ vipalyaṅgayate*). The "skin" referred to is that of Agni's "Rudra-body" (*rudriyā tanūs*, TS. I. 2. 11. 2), i.e., one of roaring flame. This all means that the Asura-Rakṣasas put on the shapes of the Gods and start a quarrel

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[2] *Vrata*=*karma*=*yajña*, Sacrifice.

[3] Here of Fire, but analogous to the "sunskin" (*sūrya-tvak*) that the sacrificer finally obtains at the Sundoor in so many other contexts.

The shape-shifter's art is always, and in all traditions, thought as the putting on of a disguise, from which one can again emerge at will; or if an enchantment, then as a form from which one can be liberated by a counter-charm. Thus, in stories of swan-maidens or were-wolves, the swan-skin or wolf-skin is a sort of costume that can be put on or taken off. In the same way, to "disappear" is to have "wrapped up one's body in the (tarn-) cap of contemplation" (*jhānd-veṭhanena sarīraṁ veṭhetvā*, Jātaka V. 126). This power of shape-shifting or skin-changing is a *ṛddhi*, acquired and dependent upon the contemplative practice (*dhyāna*), and can be lost if the power of contemplation itself is lost.

[4] Agni, himself *tanūkṛt*, RV. I. 31. 9. The Aśvins are also invoked "for body-making" (*tanūkṛthe*, RV. VIII. 86. 1), an art which they must have learnt from the same Dadhyañc who taught them how to cut off and put back heads on bodies.

With *tanūs* and *tvak* in the contexts cited above, cf. *tanūs* as the garment of initiation (*dīkṣā*) and ardor (*tapas*) that the sacrificer puts on before he can enter the sacrificial hall (SB. III. 1. 2. 20); in doing so he assimilates himself to "all the Gods" thought of as present within (*ib.* 18). Wearing this garment, the sacrificer is already virtually *within* those "two razor-edged leaves" (*ksurapavī kuśī*) of the active door that protects the veritable Soma from any profane violation (ŚB. III. 6. 2. 9).

amongst them; while the Gods, who are also able to change their skins by Agni's help, put on his likeness while he takes theirs. In that way they are able to escape the Rakṣasas, and do not come up against one another in anger.

TS. I. 2. 11. 1, 2 repeats VS. V. 6 *yā tava* . . . , as quoted from ŚB. in the same connection. It is, however, a rule, that when any rite has been completed and is to be relinquished, the sacrificer, who has been a God for the time being, must return to himself (cf. ŚB. I. 9. 3 23, etc.) lest, indeed, he should die prematurely; and such a return is always provided for. In the present case the incantation is reversed in TS. I. 3. 4. 3 where we find "What was my body in thee, be that now in me, and what was thy body in me, be that now in thee," with the conclusion "Proper to each be now the operations of us twain operators, O thou Lord of the Operation"; *yathāyatham* ("so and so" or "thus and thus", i.e., "distinguished") taking the place of the former *saha*, "combined".[5] The first words of I. 3. 5, *aty anyān agann, anyān anupāgām*, "Some I have escaped, and others I have not run up against" refer (1) to the Rakṣasas that have been avoided, and (2) to the Gods who have not come up against one another in anger.

No further explanation of the meaning of *tanūkṛt* and *anyakṛt* seems to be needed. But it will be of interest to consider a case in which the sacrificer exchanges, not bodies, but names or identities with Agni. In TS. I. 5. 10. 1 the sacrificer is going on a journey, and will be absent for a night or more; he addresses himself to his Āhavanīya Fire thus,—"The name that first, O Knower-of-births, my father and mother gave me aforetime, do thou bear it

[5] The corresponding Brāhmaṇa passage, TS. VI. 3. 2. 6, has only "One should resume his former body', they say, 'for who knows if the wealthier one will give it back again, once one is in his power" (*sve vaśe bhūte*), *i.e.*, whether God will return us to ourselves, once we have given ourselves to him.

until I return". When he returns he addresses the Fire again, saying,—"My name and thine, O Knower-of-births, which like two persons exchanging garments we use (*vāsasī iva vivasānau ye carāvaḥ*), again let us exchange, thou unto Life, we unto living, thus and thus" (*āyuṣe tvaṁ, jīvase vayam, yathāyathaṁ, viparidadhāvahai punas te*).

An equation of bodily shapes or appearances (*tanū, rūpa*) or names with "garments" is, of course, familiar in Sanskrit (BG. 11. 22), as it is in Greek (Plato, *Phaedo* 87 D; Hermes Trismegistus, *Lib.* X. 16). One puts off one and assumes another of these garments throughout one's life; and when the last of all these material determinants has been cast off, then the perfected Self (*sukṛtātman*) puts on a body of gold, glory or immortality. *Cur deus homo?* If he puts on our garment of flesh, it is in order that we may put on his robes of light.

The analogies are obvious where it becomes a matter of actual changes of clothing. One can assume an enemy's uniform in order to deceive him; or that of a friend in order to be like him. In the later rhetoric and the Vaiṣṇava literature such an exchange of garments as between lovers, generally Rādhā and Krishna, is known as *līlā*, and such an exchange of roles is one of the ten *śṛṅgāra-ceṣṭāḥ* (*Daśarūpa* II. 60), or *līlā-hāva* (Keśavadāsa, ***Rasikapriyā***, *Bhāvalakṣaṇa* 21, "where the lover is disguised as the beloved, there arises *līlā-hāva*"). Such an exchange is an implication that, as Vidyāpati says, "Each is both" (*duho dohā hoī*).

CALCUTTA-BATAVIA CORRESPONDENCE REGARDING THE RESTORATION OF DUTCH SETTLEMENTS IN INDIA, 1734*

BY

DR. KALIKINKAR DATTA, M.A., PH.D., P.R.S.,
Patna College, Patna.

The years 1778-83 formed indeed a very critical period in the history of the rising British Empire in different quarters. England was then confronted not only with the revolt of the American colonies but also with a formidable coalition of her foes in Europe. These events had undoubtedly significant repercussions on contemporary Indian politics, and particularly the attempt of France to fish in the troubled waters of India through her friendship with Hyder and Tipu, the most inveterate foes of the English in India, made the situation here also extremely critical for the British power.[1] British reprisals were, therefore, directed against the hostile powers in all theatres of their activities including India.

The United Netherlands having joined the anti-British league in the autumn of 1780[2], England declared war against Holland and captured her settlements including those in India.[3] Thus Chinsura, Baranagore, Cassimbazar, Kalkapur and Patna in Bengal and Bihar[4] and Madras, Pulicut and Negapatam in southern

* Discovered by me in the collections of the Imperial Record Department, New Delhi.

[1] *Warren Hastings' Minute, dated the 25th September, 1780.*

[2] C. Grant Robertson, *England under the Hanoverians*, p. 279.

[3] *Proceedings, Secret Department*, Fort William, 7th March, 1782 (Imperial Record Department).

[4] *Proceedings, Secret Department*, Fort William, 3rd to 21st July, 1781 (Imperial Record Department).

India, were seized by the English in the course of the year 1781.[5] Further, a British fleet under the command of Sir Edward Hughes captured the Dutch possessions of Trincomali (Trincomalai) and Fort Ostenburgh (? or Olenburg) on the island of Ceylon on the 6th January 1782.[6] But Trincomali was lost by the English. Sir Edward Hughes was forced to surrender it to the French naval commander Mons. Suffrein on the last day of August 1782.[7]

The next year saw the cessation of hostilities among the European powers; and the treaties of peace and friendship concluded between England and France as well as between England and the United Netherlands, in the month of September, 1783, provided for the mutual restitution of occupied territories. But several factors[8] prevented the immediate fulfilment of the terms relating to the restoration to the Dutch their possessions in India and Ceylon.

The Dutch government at Batav'a thereupon wrote a letter to the Council in Calcutta, dated the 27th July, 1784, soliciting the speedy execution of the points stipulated in the peace-articles for mutual restitution of territories. This letter was delivered to the Council in Calcutta on the 8th October, 1784, by Messers Van Hongwitz and Eilbracht, two members of the Council at Chinsura deputed for that task.

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[5] Fulllarton, *A View of the English Interests in India*, p. 20.

[6] *Proceedings, Secret Department, Fort William*, 28th February, 1782 (I.R.D.). For further details on this point vide my paper on "*A Letter of the Council in Calcutta to Marquis de Bussy, 1784*," read before the Modern Indian History Section of the Hyderabad Session of the Indian History Congress.

[7] Mill, *History of British India*, Vol. IV, ps. 221—25; *Secret Consultations, 3rd October, No. I, 1782* (I.R.D.).

[8] *Warren Hastings' Minute of the 16th November, 1784.* Vide *Foreign Department Proceedings, 23rd November, 1784* (I.R.D.).

In reply to it the Council in Calcutta wrote the following[9] to the Batavia government on the 23rd November, 1784:—

"* * *—It will have been known to your Excellency and Honors before your Receipt of this letter that some correspondence has passed between the Governor of Columbo and Lord Macartney, the Governor of Fort St. George on the subjects of the 4th and 9th Article of the preliminary Treaty between His Britannic Majesty and the States General, and particularly that Part of it which respects the cession of Trincomale and you will also probably have been informed that a period was put to a correspondence on the same subject between the Marquis De Bussy and Lord Macartney by a reference of matter in dispute to the proper authorities in Europe.

The letter which we have had the Honor to receive from you as well as one which has been addressed to us by the Governor and Council of Columbo have brought this important subject recently and regularly before us.

In is our wish to evince to your Excellency and your Honors, that we are no less desirous, on the happy Termination of hostilities beween our respective Nations, to remove, in as far as depends on us, every possible impediment to the entire re-establishment of that harmony which had so long prevailed between our Sovereign and the States General before the commencement of the War, than we shall be studiously attentive to the Rights of your Republic, and especially to rights that have their foundation in a solemn Treaty. Had we had the Honor of receiving your representations to us on the subject of those established by the later Treaty sooner, we should have been happy to have afforded you an earlier proof of our decided regard to these principles.

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[9] *Foreign Department Proceedings, 23rd November, 1784.*

The orders that we have received from our superiors direct us to fulfill the stipulations of that Treaty and on this account as well as for the reasons which we have had the Honor of stating to you, we are ready to carry those stipulations into effect.

In a letter therefore which we have this day written to the Marquis De Bussy, we have proposed to him that, in conformity to the instructions which he received from France under date the 25th October 1783, and communicated to the Presidency of Fort St. George, his Excellency do immediately deliver up the Fort of Trincomale and its Dependencies to the Representatives of your Government at Columbo,—We have proposed also that whatever Commissaries of Agents His Excellency may be pleased to appoint to deliver our Trincomale to the Dutch, may be considered as executing that office on the part of the British Nation and we have declared them to be fully authorized for that purpose.

It is merely possible that the Marquis De Bussy having referred to France the questions that arose between His Excellency and Lord Macartney in respect to Trincomale, may be desirous of waiting for an answer to his Dispatches before he takes any further measures on that subject, but we are hopeful that this will not happen, and supposing the Reverse, after the explicit Declaration which we have transmitted to His Excellency of our Sentiments, and after so incontestible a Demonstration as we have afforded of our readiness to carry into immediate execution the stipulations of the late Treaty of Peace, no blame can be henceforward attributed to the English for any delay in completing the wishes and arrangements of our respective Sovereigns and Governments in Europe. In effect we have executed it as far as the execution can possibly rest with us by the Reference which we have implicitly made to the Marquis De Bussy—The rest depends on him He

alone possesses the Means of carrying it into execution, being in possession of the places which are to be ceded.

We are sure that Gentlemen at Chinsura will not omit to inform your Excellency and Honors of the early attention that we paid to your claims and to those of the Governor and Council of Columbo and the readiness that we declared to replace the Dutch Company in possession of Chinsura, and the Factories dependant upon it on the footing on which they formerly possessed that Establish ment—But as the 9 . Article of the preliminaries directs that the Restitutions and evacuations to be exchanged on the respective behalfs of your Nation and ours should be exchanged at the same periods as those between Great Britain and France, and as the Marquis De Bussy had not yet agreed to deliver up Trincomale and Cuddalore, we were concerned that we could not consent to the formal and regular cession of Chinsura till we should hear from the Marquis De Bussy, to whom we promised to write for a Definitive Answer relative to the cessions stipulated to be made by the Definitive Treaty with France.

In the meantime however we agreed that the Gentlemen who had been authorized to receive back the Dutch Settlements in this country, should take possession of the warehouses belonging to your Company at Chinsura and land their goods, and establish their own laws and such regulations as they might think proper in every respect, but that of hoisting their colours in the place, or introducing, any troops or military stores. We assured them of every just protection they could require to themselves and their Trade, and that we should only station a commissary on our part at Chinsura to correspond with them and with us until matters might be finally adjusted with His Excellency the Marquis De Bussy, and with the Governor and Council of Columbo for a formal restitution of all your establishments in conformity to the 9th Article of

the preliminaries between Great Britain and the States General.

The Keys of the Factory and public Warehouses at Chinsura have accordingly been given up, and in consequence of the Desire expressed by the Gentlemen at that place, we have directed our Commissary to deliver over the warehouses at Patna and Cossimbazar which formerly belonged to the Dutch East India Company to such persons as might be appointed by the Council at Chinsura to receive charge of them.

We have the Honor to transmit to you enclosed a translation of a letter that we have received from the Chief and Council at Chinsura, in which they render us their Thanks for our favourable and speedy determinations on the application made to us allowing at the same time full weight to the reasons assigned by us against a further compliance with them for the present."

The sincerity of the sentiments expressed in this letter is well proved by the despatches of the Council in Calcutta of the same date to Marquis de Bussy, to the Governor and Council of Fort St. George, to the Governor and Council of Bombay, to the Hon'ble Imam William Valek, Governor and Director of the Island of Ceylon with all its dependencies, and to the gentlemen of the Council at Colombo.[10] In fact all its members were in perfect agreement with the Governor General's Minute, dated the 16th November, 1784, wherein he recommended that "a letter be immediately written to the Marquis de Bussy, both requiring him in the Terms of his own instructions to deliver up the Fort of Trincomale and its dependencies to the Representatives of the Dutch Government of Colombo; and empowering him to constitute such Agents as he may think proper to perform so much of this process as may be construed to appertain formally to the representatives of our

[10] *Ibid.*

Nation; and at the same time to require him to deliver over the Fort, Town and Districts of Cuddalore to such Agents as shall be deputed for that purpose to receive the same from the President and Select Committee of Fort Saint George, receiving from them their formal cession of Pondicherry * * ".

It is interesting to note that the English in India had already, in the course of the last few months, received some assistance from the Dutch at Batavia. The Council in Calcutta stated in another letter[11] to the Council at Batavia, also dated the 23rd November, 1784:—

" * * * We beg leave to assure you that we are truly sensible of the favourable attention which you have shewn to the Request contained in our letter of the 15th of December 1783 in permitting a supply of rice to be sent from Batavia for the Relief of the Carnatic; a kindness enhanced in the value of it by the state of your own wants and the other circumstances which you have recited to us.

We have been informed by the President and Council at Fort St. George that no invoice accompanied the rice which you did us the favor to embark in the Vansittart. They have however transmitted to us an account of the quantity actually landed at Madras, and we have the Honor to enclose a copy of it.

We propose to furnish the Chief and Council at Chinsura with another Transcript of it, and as there are some charges to be paid by this Government, the amount of which we cannot exactly ascertain, we mean to request that the gentlemen at Chinsura will be pleased to propose an account of what may be due to your nation for the Grain, that we may know our exact debt which will be discharged partly in money and partly in Salt Petre, agreeably to your desire."

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[11] *Ibid.*

SOME PROBLEMS IN INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

BY

RAO BAHADUR K. N. DIKSHIT, M.A.,
Late Director General of Archaeology in India.

In this article it is proposed to discuss some of the main problems that confront the investigator in Indian archaeology at the present time. Before the discovery of the Indus Valley civilization it was easy to deny any knowledge about the existence of material culture before the Mauryan period except for the disjointed fragments of the knowledge of the early stone and copper ages. With the flood of light on the existence of a highly developed civilization in the late 4th and early 3rd millenia B.C. brought by the investigations in the north-western India during the past two decades, it is more than ever necessary to work out the ramifications and missing links in the complete chain of human evolution on the basis of cultural remains in India. It is now becoming increasingly clear that in spite of the gaps in our knowledge, such an attempt is feasible, provided trained investigators are able to continue their researches in this field all over the length and breadth of this land. It is for the Governments, Universities, Museums and Research Societies in this country to combine in a properly co-ordinated effort to make this consummation possible. It has, however, to be said with regret that there seems little awakening yet on the part of our Universities and Research Societies, and unless this were forthcoming, India is bound to lag far behind Europe and America in the matter of scientific research in this almost limitless field.

The history of human cultures commences with the palaeolithic age. We have not yet properly known the geographical limits of investigation in this field. The first workers in this line were geologists, and unfortunately archaeologists have not seriously taken up the thread of the work where it was left by pioneers like Bruce Foote. New stimulus was afforded by the De Terra expedition from America, which visited this country seven years ago, collected considerable material in valleys of the Sohan river in the Punjab, the Narmada region in C.P. and around Madras, and discussed the bearings of the various ice ages in Kashmir and pluvial epochs on the Indian continent on the occurrence and sequence of palaeolithic industries in the North West. They have shown the way, but much further work is needed in this field of investigation on the part of Indian workers. A complete outline of the palaeolithic times throughout India and an attempt at fixing the chronology on palaeontological and stratigraphical as well as typological considerations have yet to be attempted. Vast areas including in particular the gravels in river beds all over Central, Western, Eastern and Southern India have to be searched by scientific expeditions and the material properly collated. Wherever and in whichever areas in the Bombay Presidency (in the valleys of the Sabarmati, lower Narmada, Godavari and Tungabhadra) investigations have been extended to, new material is forthcoming, but the work yet to be done is so vast in comparison with that so far attempted that many more organised research parties will be needed.

The problem of the supposed hiatus between the palaeolithic and neolithic epochs of culture was not touched for the last 50 years till it was taken up again two years ago by the investigations of the Gujarat Prehistoric Expedition. It will require more investigation in places, where both the early and late stone age cultures can be

connected stratigraphically as in the areas of the ancient Deccan and Gujarat. Within the neolithic period itself much material is now accumulated concerning the microlithic phase, which has been found in certain places (e.g. Brahmagiri in Mysore State and Kallur in Hyderabad) to precede the regular neolithic, while in other areas such as the caves in the Mahadev Hills and in the loess mounds of Gujarat, it occurs by itself. The beginning of agriculture, the domestication of animals, the use of fire, the making of pottery, the working of conch shell—all these appear to have been introduced in the neolithic age before the knowledge of metal.

The clear sequence of various stages in the neolithic period cannot be worked out, as very little work has been done in the areas where these finds have been made. The transition from the neolithic to the copper age in the North and the iron age in the South is, at the present state of our knowledge, a problem awaiting solution. The find of copper implements, cult objects, etc., from a number of places in the Gangetic valley has not yet yielded any satisfactory clue to the solution of this problem. None of the sites connected with these finds have yielded any other tangible finds, and the surface examination of many of the places shows as yet no prospect of any successful digging. On the other hand, the proximity of a number of the neolithic sites, such as Kupgal and cinder mounds (for example one at Kudatini), which appear to be the remnants of large scale smelting of iron, shows the possibility of the connections between the later neolithic and iron ages in the Bellary-Raichur region. The actual evidence from excavations recently carried out by the Mysore Archaeological Department at Brahmagiri is even more direct, in that it shows that in the Deccan a purely neolithic culture was followed by an early iron age stratum with which iron implements are associated. In North

India such evidence connecting the stone and metal ages has not unfortunately been forthcoming. The persistence of chert scrapers in Mohenjodaro, Harappa and other sites connected with the Indus period is the only existing link which led to the appellation 'chalcolithic' being (without any strong reason) applied to the well developed copper age civilization of the Indus valley. Although several stages of this civilization have by now been recognised as a result of the investigations in several Baluchistan sites, in the excavations at Mohenjodaro, Amri, Jhukar and Chanhu-daro and more recently in the Bahawalpur State by Sir Aurel Stein, a purely neolithic stage of culture has not been discovered in association with or in the earlier levels of any Indus site.

The extension of the Indus culture towards the North East and South East is another problem yet facing the archaeologists. In the area between the Sutlej and the Jumna the only site yet discovered is Kotla Nihang near Rupar, but the finds do not indicate a full-fledged settlement comparable with the sites of Sind, Baluchistan and south-west Punjab. In the neighbourhood of Rupar there occur other sites of the definitely historic period, which require further investigation to see whether any of them can be traced down to the Indus culture. Besides this, the western U.P. and eastern Punjab have not yielded any surface finds which may indicate any connection with the earlier Indus civilization, but there can be no doubt that some of these will, when properly investigated lead to definite links, which will carry our knowledge to the pre-Mauryan periods.

In the South, however, the prospects are much brighter for bridging the gulf between the prehistoric and the historic periods. The part, which appears to teem with material worth examination, is what may be called the ancient Deccan or Karnatak, the middle Krishna-Tunga-

bhadra basin, which is now divided between four jurisdictions, *viz.*, the Bombay-Karnatak consisting of Bijapur, Belgaum and Dharwar Districts; the Chitaldrug District of Mysore; the Bellary, Anantpur and Kurnool Districts of the Madras Presidency and the Raichur District of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions. The sites of Maski and Kallur in the Raichur District, and Brahmagiri and Chandravalli in the Chitaldrug District have been excavated by the Hyderabad and Mysore Archaeological Departments respectively, and the results show a distinctive painted ware culture (white lattice ware pattern on a dull red background) dating before the Mauryan period, which is apparently not paralleled anywhere else. The surface finds from the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, which include varieties of pottery, conch-shell objects, etc., suggest a chain of sites in the Bilgipetah of Bijapur District to old Belgaum and to Sasankottah in the Anantpur District, which provide evidence of the extension of this culture westward and eastward. What is now required is systematic and sustained attempts at the listing and excavation of promising sites of the four geographical divisions and the co-ordination of the results on strict scientific lines. This work opens up a new vista of archaeological possibilities and with the resources of the two premier Indian States of Hyderabad and Mysore at the back of the respective Archaeological Departments, we can expect more work from them in this direction. It is up to the Universities and Research Societies and Departments in the Bombay and Madras Provinces to take up the threads of work in British India.

In North India, the researches conducted recently in British India as well as in Rajputana and Central India have thrown a flood of light on life in the period between the Mauryan and Gupta Empires, roughly the three centuries on either side of the Christian era, so that one

can no longer with any justification find any 'dark' age in this period. The excavations at the ancient city of Ahichhatra have now yielded material for building up a regular sequence of pottery, terracotta and other minor antiquities ranged over some 8 periods from the 2nd Century B.C. to the 8th Century A.D. This will hereafter constitute the standard of reference for other sites, particularly in the Western United Provinces. When the results of the systematic study of pottery from this site, stratum by stratum, have been published, any student of antiquity in India will be in a position to date a mound from rapid survey of the pottery finds on the surface, as they do in the middle east and Egypt. We have yet, however, to find a site where the regular stratification leading to pre-Mauryan times can be discovered. It is quite clear that there were settled kingdoms previous to and contemporary with the founder of Buddhism, and it should be possible to visualise the material remains of those times by deep diggings at such places as Rajagriha, Benares, Kausambi and Sravasti. The excavations at Rairh in the Jaipur State have shown the existence of a prosperous community in the period of the Malavas who appear to have been a vigorous tribe migrating from the Punjab devoted to the Brahmanical religion and were responsible for the constitution of what later became known as the Vikrama era. It is clear that the excavation of Nagar or Karkota Nagar in the Jaipur State, which was the main city of the Malavas, probably abandoned after the invasion of Samudragupta in the 4th Century, will throw considerable light on the Malavas and their times. The diggings at Ujjain, the capital of Malwa and associated in popular tradition with Vikramaditya and the Vikrama era, have yielded valuable material for the study of the Gupta and later periods but have as yet thrown no light on the question of the migration of

the Malavas to the country which bears their name. It is hoped that the ancient capitals in this region, such as Vidisa (modern Bhilsa) and Dasapur (modern Mandasor) will, if carefully investigated, yield further important material bearing on this and other questions. Vast areas in Cutch and Kathiawar are archaeologically unexplored but have immense possibilities in that they occur within the zone of the prehistoric as well as the historic phases of Indian culture.

In the South, the antiquities of the Maurya period characterised by the universally found polished pottery ware are followed by the remains of the Andhra or Satavāhana period, which introduce a note of individuality and independent development, as seen from the excavations at Kondapur and Paithan in Hyderabad State and in Kolhapur and Belgaum in Bombay Presidency. The brilliant Andhra Buddhist culture of the lower Krishna valley as exemplified by the finds at Amaravati and Nagarjunikonda has yet to be amplified by the systematic digging of a city site. In the Tamilian lands we are as yet unaware of the historical development of Dravidian material culture but the wealth of material available from the sporadic digging at the sea-side mart of Adikamedu near Pondichery shows the way to what may be expected when systematic excavation is attempted at promising sites like Conjeeveram, Uraiyur near Trichinopoly and Korkar in Tirunelvely. The entire picture so sketchily drawn here shows how wide and deep are the gaps still left in our knowledge of the ancients which ought to stimulate the enthusiasm of scientific investigators all over the country. It is hoped that the recently awakened historical and scientific consciousness in this country will be properly harnessed to the cause of archaeological research for the lasting benefit of India's status in the world of science and scholarship.

NIDHĀMAL : THE LAST REPRESENTATIVE OF THE MUGHAL SCHOOL OF PAINTING

BY

O. C. GANGOLY

The view that the Mughal School founded by Akbar (1556—1605) at the Imperial Studio at Delhi came to an end with the termination of the reign of Shahjahan (June 1658) is a misconception, belied by the numerous productions of the Mughal artists during the whole of the 18th century and some part of the early nineteenth century. Even the productions of paintings during the reign of Aurangzib (1658—1707) including numerous portraits of the Emperor himself and of the ladies of the *Harem* (e.g., portraits of Zebunnissa)—maintain the high water-mark and the finest technique of the "Mughal" brush. The achievements and the high standards attained by the Artists under the royal patronage of the three earlier reigns could not disappear immediately, and persisted, with wonderful vitality and technical virtuosity, for over a century after the death of Aurangzib. Though the puritanical prejudices of the monarch did not contribute to the further development of the Art and, on the other hand, prevented his continuing the patronage and support hitherto enjoyed by the royal artists, the skill of the Mughal Painter continued to keep their brushes busy under private patronage—even after the Royal Studio at Delhi was broken up and disbanded. The closing up of the Imperial Studio led to decentralization of Mughal Culture and Art. The artists and craftsmen hitherto maintained by royal patronage at the centre of Mughal culture had to migrate from Delhi,—seeking the patronage and support of petty chiefs in different parts of India. In this way, many minor

branches of the Mughal School were transplanted to distant centres far away from Delhi. Thus the Ādil Shāhî kingdom (Bijapur), the Nizam Shāhi kingdom (Haiderabad), and the principalities of Oudh, Lucknow and Patna became new centres of the traditional culture of the Mughals. The School of Kangra Painting was actually founded by an Artist who accompanied Suleiman Shukoh, when the latter fled from Delhi to Kangra (Garhwal). Of course, the plant of the transplanted culture developed new manners of fruits and flowers of newer and richer fragrance, not identical with those of the original stem. Various local characteristics and qualities gave a new flavour to these distant derivatives of the School of Mughal Painting.

Although many artists of the original branch of the Mughal School at Delhi must have left the Imperial City to seek their fortunes at the courts of minor Chiefs and Nawabs in distant centres, many of the artists continued to stay at Delhi seeking such patronage as they could enjoy from the local grandées, amirs, and mansabdars. And the surviving miniature paintings and portraits of the reign of Bāhādur Shah (1707—1712), Farruksiyār (1713—1719), Mahamad Shah (1719—1748), and Ahmad Shah (1748—1754) amply prove that at Delhi itself—there were practising artists throughout the reigns of the later Mughals,—producing quite distinguished works in the Mughal style, and keeping up the traditions of an ancient pictorial craft through the political vicissitudes of the precarious reigns frequently cut short by political intrigues, murders, and invasions. That many artists continued the traditions of the old Mughal School, throughout the eighteenth century would seem to prove, (as the Memoirs of Manucci support with authentic testimony), that private patronage was not lacking to keep the Lamp of Art burning at Delhi, even during the gloomy days of

the dying empire. There are evidences which support the view that even about the fag-end of the eighteenth century, Delhi still enjoyed the reputation of a centre of artistic culture and the home of practising artists.

A very surprising piece of evidence has recently cropped up which shows that some of the Peshwas, interested in pictorial art, had sought for help from the Imperial City in matters relating to pictures and painters. It is a letter addressed to Nānā Faḍnavis (1774—1800) from Sankarji Sakhdar, his agent at Delhi. I am indebted for a translation of this letter (printed by Parsanis in his *Itihās-Saṅgraha-Aitihāsik Tipane*, Part I, No. 11) to the generous courtesy of Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, the veteran scholar and the foremost living authority on Maharatta History. The translation of the letter together with his valuable notes is set out below:—

"To Shrimant RAJASHRI NANA[1] from his servant Sankerji Sakhader[2] with profound respects and salutations. Am keeping all right at Delhi through your good graces upto 19th Safar.[3] Now the particulars.

I most respectfully acknowledge your letter of high favour dated 10th Sawal,[4] which reached me on 19th Zillej.[5] Your commands in this letter

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[1] Nānā stands for Nānā Fadnavîs who was the sole ruler of the Maharatta State during the minority of the Peshwa Madhav Rao II, i.e., from 1774 to 1802 when Nānā died.

[2] Sankarji Sakhader is a clerk in the employ of the Maharatta Vakil at Delhi surnamed Hingne. He writes the letter on behalf of his master who might have been away.

[3] As the year is not mentioned, the exact date cannot be ascertained. It may be taken to be 23rd January, 1783, from circumstantial evidences.

[4] Sawal 10th is 18th September, 1782, the date of the letter as it is despatched from Poona.

[5] Zillej 19th is 25th November, 1782, the date on which the letter reached Delhi. It took more than two months for the journey from Poona to Delhi.

are thus communicated: 'We are in need of an album of divine pictures. Will you please procure and buy fine pictures of Shri Krishna painted by old renowned artists like NIDHĀMAL of Delhi, put gold ornamented borders on them, bind them properly and carefully in a volume and despatch the same to us. We will gladly pay the price that would be demanded. But the pictures should indeed be the finest available.'

In reply to these commands I beg to inform you that, There lived a painter here named NIDHĀMAL, a Hindu during the reign of the Emperor Ahmad Shāh. As he was himself a pious devotee of Shri Kṛishna and other deities, he was fond of painting various pictures; and as in those days many rich gentlemen, Kayasthas, Kshatriyas, Ambassadors, Zamindars, Diplomats, and Vakils were resident in Delhi, they gave profuse orders for such pictures. Thereupon the raids of Abdali ruined Delhi and NIDHĀMAL had to leave this place and take his residence at Lucknow, where he died. He had two sons at Lucknow, one of whom is worthless the other practises the profession of his father, but is not I learn, equally clever like his father. I made enquiries about him. But he cannot prepare any picture so perfect and fine as the one of Shri Kṛishna which Deorao [6] Jatya has given you. And now no Hindu artist exists. There are Muslim artists who prepare pictures suited to the present times; but they

[6] Devrao Hingne, the Maharatta Vakil at Delhi.

cannot paint a picture of "Shri Kṛishna in an attitude of contemplation," possessing the high quality that you need.

I also enquired for old pictures being available for sale; but have so far not been successful. I am still prosecuting my enquiry. If I catch hold of any good old paintings, shall certainly carry out your orders. There no longer exists, here, any old Hindu artist of talent. Most of them have left the place for Lucknow and other towns, as they all had to suffer starvation and absence of demand for their art. Many have died also. They have left behind their descendants who are worthless. This is the present state of Delhi. Delhi now is not what people had seen in days gone by. Only the name exists.

I am sending you the sesamum and sugar offering customary for the Saṅkrānti Season. Pray accept them and inform your servant of your having done so."

The letter is not actually dated, though a date is referred to therein from which Rao Bahadur Sardesai deduces the date of the letter to be 23rd January 1783, that is to say written during the reign of Alamgir II (accession 1754), the successor of Ahmad Shah (1748—1754) who is actually mentioned in the letter. Nānā Faḍnavîs died in 1800. The "raids of Abdali" referred to in the letter must be the three raids of Ahmad Shah Abdali or Durrani the first of which took place a month before the death of Muhammad Shah (1748) and which was repulsed by Prince Ahmad Shah and his Vizir Kamāl-ud-din at Sirhind on the Sutlej. After the accession of Ahmad Shah (1748) to the throne of Delhi, Durrani made a second raid. Six

years later Ahmad Shah was deposed and replaced by Alamgir II (1754). "Two years later Ahmad Shah Durrani (Abdali) invaded India for the third time, and captured Delhi, which again suffered from the horrors of massacre and pillage (1756)"—(Vincent Smith). Any how, through these troublous times, the Lamp of Pictorial Art was kept burning by the genius and persistence of individual artists, like the one referred to in the letter —Nidhāmal, a Hindu painter, who appears to have been the last representative of the Delhi School, and who specialized in Vaishnavite themes and whose skill and fame reached Poona. It appears Nidhāmal was liberally patronized by the local cultured gentry at Delhi who kept him busy by loading him with incessent commissions. But "the raids of Durrani (Abdali) ruined Delhi, and Nidhāmal had to leave this place and take his residence at Lucknow where he died," leaving two sons one of whom practised the craft, but lacked the genius and skill of his father. As the letter says, there were Musalman artists, contemporaries of Nidhāmal practising at Delhi, but their works were, probably, not of a very high standard and they appear to have catered to the degraded tastes of local patrons. There are authenticated and signed pictures of Hindu religious themes from the brush of Musalman artists, of distinguished quality, so that it cannot be said that Hindu subjects were the sole monopoly of Hindu artists of the Mughal School. Nidhāmal's excellence in Kṛishna subjects appears to be based on the fact that he was himself a passionate devotee, and his religious faith imparted a sincerity and nobility to his illustrations of Kṛishna subjects which others could not excel. Apparently, as referred to in the letter, Nānā Faḍnavis, already possessed a picture drawn by Nidhāmal which was sent to him by Deorao Jatya (Devrao Hingne), probably, Nānā's former agent (Vakil) at Delhi, and Nānā was

anxious to acquire other pictures from his brush. The letter apparently proves that politics and wars were not the only preoccupations of the great personages who fill the large canvas of Maharatta History, and interest in pictures and spiritual culture formed a vital background to their lives, as is proved by other evidences supported by documents, literary and pictorial.

Our letter gives a pathetic glimpse into the state of artistic culture of Delhi at the time and draws a tragic picture of the migrations of practising artist of the still surviving Mughal School to Lucknow and other distant centres of new cultural activities thus bringing to a termination the great School of Mughal painting which began sometime during the early part of the reign of Akbar (*circa* 1560) and which flourished and continued its activity right up to the reign of Ahmad Shah (1754) and over which the curtain was rung down by the cruel raids of Ahmad Shah Durrani, with such fatal consequences to the activities of contemporary artists, activities which neither the puritanical prejudices of Aurangzib could suppress, nor the withdrawal of imperial patronages could stamp out.

But has any picture from the brush of Nidhāmal, the last representative of the Mughal School, survived? It is my privilege to answer the question in the happy affirmative. By an accident, my friend the Curator of the Itihāsa Samsodhaka Mandala of Poona, helped me to identify a picture of this talented artist, the last star in the brilliant firmament of Mughal pictorial culture;[7] the

[7] I have had with me amongst my hundreds of photographs of pictures of the Mughal School, one representing 'Young Princes practising archery.' It originally belonged to the Tagore collection and was photographed by me for study and reference purposes. I, accidently, showed the photograph to the Curator of Itihāsa Mandala to demonstrate how the style of costumes and head dresses can help one to fix the date and chronology of pictures and pointed out that the head-gears (*pāgris*) of the Princes

picture, which formerly belonged to the famous Tagore collection, represents a "Competition in Archery" and bears the signature of the artist, clearly written in fine Persian characters—"Amal-i-Nidhamal" just at the end of the stone railing running at the centre of the miniature. It is a very lively group forcefully & skilfully composed, with one of the competitors actually aiming at the target, while the other two competitors are awaiting their turn. The elders,—apparently a panel of three judges, are immediately behind, keenly watching the contest, but are too ardent a devotee of the tobacco to dispense with their *huqqās* & pipes, which their retainers (*huqqā-barkandāz*) are carrying behind, adding an effective group to build up a very happy and well-knit composition. It is well known that English "Nababs" of the nineteenth century used to smoke at their elaborate *huqqās* carried by their retainers from place to place, as numerous paintings & engravings attest the practice up to a very late date in the nineteenth century.[8] The scene here is laid on an open terrace, bounded by low railings, and overlooking a spacious garden, crowded with trees, plants, and flower-beds stretching right up to the boundary wall (broken up by two gates) painted & decorated at the top, over which the leaves of plantain trees lean over and perpendicular rows of other trees rear their heads at regular intervals. The human figures skilfully drawn with great precision & characterization up-hold the refined manners of the Mughal School, and its highest power of realistic delineation. It is impossible to say if the picture was drawn by the artist before or after his sojourn to Lucknow. The

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in this picture pointed to a very late date—approximately about the end of the 18th century. Upon that he examined the photograph and read the signature of the artist, so that the credit of the discovery belongs not to the writer but to him.

[8] The portraits of Colonel Todd, and the Banker Johnson are very convenient and well known examples.

architectural setting does not appear to re-call the atmosphere of Delhi, and seems to depict the "stucco" style of Lucknow and of the Rajput Courts of the Punjab-Himalyas. The subject depicted must have represented an actual scene. And the clue to the identity of the personages has to be sought in the peculiar head-gears which are not the typical turbans of the Mughal Courts, but are met with in various pictures of the Hill School and other related miniatures. It represents a late fashion of the mid-eighteenth century.

ENDINGLESS NUMERALS IN THE ṚGVEDA

BY

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH, M.A., D.PHIL., D.LIT.

Wackernagel (*Altindische Grammatik*, III §180a), like others before him, has recognised the category of endingless numerals in the Ṛgvedic language and also shown parallels in other cognate languages. The question, however, must be decided solely on the basis of the data in Sanskrit so far as Sanskrit numerals are concerned. The evidence of cognate languages may be regarded as *additional* support, but by itself it would be no proof at all. The evidence of Sanskrit in this regard is, however, less solid than could be wished for.

Let us first look at the forms in question. Three times we have *páñca kṣitīnā́m* (1. 7. 9; I. 176. 3; VI 46. 7) and once *páñca kṛṣṭiṣu*[1] (II. 2. 10).—Eight times we have *saptá* used instrumentally; thus *saptá dhā́mabhiḥ* (I. 22. 16; IV. 7. 5; IX. 102. 2), *saptá hótṛbhiḥ* (III. 10. 4; X. 63. 7), *saptá raśmibhiḥ* (VIII. 72 16), *saptá dhītíbhiḥ* (IX. 9. 4)[2] and *saptá dhātṛ́bhiḥ* (IX. 10. 3). Once *saptá* seems to have been used in genitive, viz., *ṛṣīṇām saptá* (IX. 103. 3), but the whole passage being *abhi vā́ṇīr ṛ́ṣīṇām saptá nūṣata* it is better perhaps to construe the numeral as adjective to *vā́ṇīḥ*, specially in view of the passage *akṣáreṇa mimate saptá vā́ṇīḥ* (I. 164. 24). Both the passages IX. 62. 17 and IX. 103. 3 being ambiguous, it would be best not to insist on *saptá* as an actually attested form in genitive plural. Once *saptá* has been used in locative plural, viz.,

[1] Not *páñca kṛ́ṣitiṣu* as in Wackernagel, *loc. cit.*

[2] We have *ṛ́ṣīṇāṁ saptá dhītíbhiḥ* in IX. 62. 17, but here the numeral may be construed also with *ṛsīṇām*.

saptá sindhuṣu (VIII. 24. 27).—The third numeral that shows an endingless flexional form is *dáśan*, but that only once, viz., *dáśa kakṣyā́bhiḥ* (X. 101. 10), the form *daśábhiḥ* occurring no less than sixteen times.

All the three numerals showing these apparently endingless forms are *an*—stems (*páñcan, saptán, dáśan*),—which is to say, in compounds they would normally appear as *a*-stems. But what prevents us from taking expressions like "*Páñca kṣitīnā́m*" and "*saptá síndhuṣu*" as real compounds? The answer must be, that in the Padapāṭha they are not treated as such. Otherwise there is no valid reason why they should not be treated as compounds accenting both components, not at all uncommon in the Ṛgveda. The combinations in which they appear are very suggestive "*Páñca kṛṣṭíṣu*" and "*páñca kṣitīnā́m*" are self-explanatory. Hillebrandt[3] has shown that in the older Ṛgvedic age there was a fixed tradition about five original Aryan tribes which found expression in standing locutions such as "*páñca jánāḥ*" (III. 37. 9), "*páñca kṛṣṭáyaḥ*" (II. 2. 10), "*páñca carṣaṇáyaḥ*" (V. 86. 2) and "*páñca kṣitáyaḥ*" (I. 7. 9).[4] Through the constant association of *páñcan* with *jánāḥ* (or its equivalents) in the tradition and the language "*páñca jánāḥ,*" etc., must have become veritable compounds in the speech consciousness of the Vedic Aryans; and this stage once reached, the association of the numeral in the same form with oblique cases of the second component (such as *kṣitīnā́m, kṛṣṭíṣu*) would naturally follow in due course. All things considered, it would be best therefore to take "*páñca kṛṣṭíṣu*" and "*páñca kṣitīnā́m*" as split-compounds, if not as real compounds.

Not so transparent, though closely analogous, is the case of *saptá* for *saptábhiḥ* and *saptásu*. We find *saptá*

[3] *Zeitschr. f. Indologie u. Iranistik*, Vol. VI, pp. 174 ff.

[4] More references in Grassmann s. v. *páñcan*.

thrice associated with "the somewhat vague term *dhā́man*."[5] The general vagueness of the term[6] is unfortunate no doubt, but in two of the three passages in which *saptá* appears as qualifying *dhā́mabhiḥ* the meaning of the word is fairly clear. Only in the first passage (I. 22. 16): *pṛthivyā́ḥ saptá dhā́mabhiḥ*) there is room for doubt, but that doubt too is due only to the fact that the poet did not consider it necessary to be fully explicit on a point of traditional cosmology. As Geldner[7] aptly says, "die sieben Schichten (*i.e., dhā́māni*) der Erden sind wohl mit bekannter Breviloquenz die drei Erden, Luftreich und die drei Himmel." In the other two passages (IV. 7. 5 and IX. 102. 2), "*saptá dhā́mabhiḥ*" certainly refers to the traditional seven forms of the sacrifice.[8] It is thus clear that in all the three passages in which *saptá* appears as an adjective qualifying a plural oblique form of *dhā́man* there is a particularly close association between the numeral adjective and the substantive it qualifies. In the first case the association is of traditional cosmology, and in the other two it is of the sacrificial cult: in other words, the association is such as would tend to fuse the two terms into one idea in the minds of sacerdotes. Under the circumstances, should we not take "*saptá dhā́mabhiḥ*" too as a split-compound like "*páñca kṣitīnā́m*"?—It is much easier to explain in the same way the locution "*saptá hótṛbhiḥ*." The tradition of seven priests participating in Soma-sacrifices dates, as is well known at least from the Indo-Iranian era, and already in the Ṛgvedic age it had become something like a fixed formula,

[5] Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, p. 487.

[6] Confirmed rather than dispelled by Geldner in his Glossar.

[7] In the note on this passage in his Ubersetzung.

[8] See Geldner's *Kommentar* on IV. 7. 5 and also his *Übersetzung* of the same passage.

so that the number seven is rather inconsistently insisted upon even though the idividual members of the list may vary.[9] There exists, therefore, a particularly close relation between the two members of the locution under discussion, —a relation sanctified by a living sacerdotal tradition of immemorial antiquity. To all appearance, "*saptá hótṛbhiḥ*" has an equal if not a better right tnan "*páñca kṣitīnā́m*" to be regarded as a split-compound.—Now we come to "*saptá raśmíbhiḥ*" in the passage "*sū́ryasya saptá raśmíbhiḥ*" (VIII. 72. 16). The usual meaning of the word *raśmí* is no doubt "ray" from the Ṛgveda onwards. But this meaning certainly does not suit our passage, for why should the sun have only seven rays? We have therefore to fall back on the other meaning of the word, namely "reins", which, too, is well attested in the Ṛgveda, and which, in view of its obvious etymological relation with *raśanā́* "cord" should have been the original meaning of the word.[10] If *raśmí* means "reins", as it must in our passage,—then the numeral must correspond to the number of animals attributed to Sūrya's chariot in mythology! This is exactly what we find, cf. *saptá tvā haríto*[11] *ráthe váhanti deva sūrya* (RV. I. 50. 9). The evidence of Ṛgvedic mythology therefore clearly suggests a close association between "*saptá*" and "*raśmí*" particularly in connection with Sūrya's mares. Can we then doubt that "*saptá raśmíbhiḥ*" too is in reality a split-compound? It must be admitted however that *ádhukṣat . . . ū́rjam saptá raśmíbhiḥ* (VIII. 72. 16) does not make good sense if *raśmí* is taken to mean "reins", but that only from the

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[9] See particularly Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*², pp. 383—1; also Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

[10] Look under Raśanā and Raśmi in the Vedic Index, where however the etymological relation between the two words has been ignored.

[11] *Harít* is the conventionalised designation for Sūrya's mare just as *hári* is that of Indra's horse and *bradhná* that of Agni's.

view-point of classical Sanskrit syntax. We have to remember that Pāṇini's definition *sādhakatamaṇ karaṇam* does not at all apply to Ṛgvedic instruments. Everything that even in the most indirect way may contribute to the fulfilment of an object can appear in the instrumental case in the Ṛgveda. In our passage Sūrya is clearly contemplated as riding down to earth to fetch sap. But his ride would not have been possible without reins! Hence the instrumental *raśmíbhiḥ* in the meaning reins would be perfectly justified in our passage.—An explanation of the locution "*saptá dhītíbhiḥ*" (IX. 9. 4; 62. 17) is rather difficult on account of the uncertainty of the meaning of *dhīti.* Yet, inspite of this obscurity of the accompanying word, the obvious and only explanation will at once spring to the eye if we do but look at the passages:

IX. 9. 4: *sá saptá dhītíbhir hitó nadyò ajinvad adruhaḥ,*

and IX. 62. 17: *tám . . . ráthe yuñjanti yā́tave, ṛṣīṇām saptá dhītíbhiḥ* and compare them with

IX. 8. 4: *mṛjánti tvā dáśa kśipo hinvánti sapta dhītáyaḥ*

and IX. 15. 8: *etám u tyám dáśa kṣipo mṛjánti sapta dhītáyaḥ.*

We have thus a fixed locution "*saptá dhītáyaḥ*"[12] corresponding to "*saptá dhītíbhiḥ.*" It is clear that "*saptá dhītáyaḥ*" having become a veritable compound in the speech-consciousness of the Vedic Aryans passed the way to the split-compound "*saptá dhītíbhiḥ*" with an oblique case-form of the second component.—So far as "endingless" *saptá* in instrumental is concerned, we have now only to explain "*saptá dhātṛ́bhiḥ*" in IX. 10. 3: *rā́jāno ná práśastibhiḥ, sómāso góbhir añjate, yajño ná saptá dhātṛ́bhiḥ.*

[12] Can it be that *dhītí* here means "metre" or "melody" like *vāṇī?* Cf. VI. 34. 3: *ná yám hiṃsanti dhītáyo ná vā́ṇīḥ.*

For the meaning of the word *dhātṛ́*[13] in this passage we have to keep in view the perfect parallelism between the first pāda and the third: princes are praised with panegyrics just as the sacrifice (is praised) by seven Dhātṛs. Is it not clear that *dhātṛ́* in this passage is equivalent to *hótṛ*? "*Saptá dhātṛbhiḥ*" would therefore be adequately explained by what has been said above in regard to "*saptá hótṛbhiḥ*." As regards "*saptá síndhuṣu*," the case for a split-compound is irresistible. The Ṛgvedic tradition of seven rivers is too well known to require any discussion or elucidation.

Alone remains "*dáśa kakṣyà̄bhiḥ*" (X. 101. 10) which might lend any substantial support to the theory of endingless numerals in the Ṛgveda. Nevertheless, it is our ignorance about the customary accoutrement of horse-chariots in the Ṛvedic age from which flows this support. If it could be proved that ten Kakṣyās—whatever that may mean—were a constant feature of Ṛgvedic chariots, then "*dáśa kakṣyà̄bhiḥ*" too should have to have been taken as a split-compound. But that cannot be proved. To regard *dáśa* in this passage as a *grammatical* equivalent of *daśábhiḥ* is not however the only possible alternative. Under the circumstances it would be best perhaps to take *dáśa* in X. 101. 10 as a momentary formation like *rocané* for *rocanéṣu* in I. 105. 5.[14]

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[13] Sāyaṇa takes it to mean Adhvaryu. But the use of the root *śaṃs-* in *práśastibhiḥ* would rather suggest Hotṛ-priests.

[14] Let us mention in conclusion that at least one split-compound with a numeral as the first component has been recognised in Pāṇinean tradition, for what else is "*sapta ṛṣīṇām*" beside *saptarṣīṇām*?

ĀHNIKAPADDHATI OF ŚRĪNIVĀSĀCĀRYA— BETWEEN A.D. 1750 AND 1850

BY

P. GODE, M.A.

In the list of आ works recorded by Prof. P. V. Kane in his *History of Dharmaśāstra*[1] no mention is made of a work called आह्निकपद्धति[2] by श्रीनिवासाचार्य[3] Aufrecht also makes no mention of such a work. I find, however, a MS of this work in the B. O. R. Institute Collection of MSS and I propose to describe it in this paper to enable scholars interested in the history of *Dharmaśāstra* to trace any more MSS of the work in other libraries, private or public. This MS begins with fol. 3 as follows :—

"सूर्येन्दुकोटि प्रतिभासमानां दीपावलिं गोघृत वर्तियुक्तां
गृहाण लोकत्रयपूजितांघ्रे दीपप्रज्ञालेषु विराजमाने ॥१२॥"

Verse 12 quoted above is followed by verses 13 to 26 which are obviously quoted from a work called मानसपूजा by भीमसेन as the following line indicates :—

"इति श्रीभीमसेनकृत[4] मानसपूजोक्त[4] प्रकारेण पूजयेत् ॥६॥"

These verses describe the *naivedya* offered to the deity and refer to many articles of diet such as दधि, मधु, घृत, क्षीरपानीय, तांबूल, आपूप prepared of शालिपिष्ट, with जीरक and मरीचक लड्डुकाः, कदली—

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[1] Vol. I, 1930 (B. O. R. Institute Poona), p. 520.

[2] Works of the title आह्निक पद्धति recorded by Prof. Kane are as follows :—(1) By शिवराम; (2) By रघुनाथ सम्राट्स्थपति Son of माधव, Son of रामेश्वर ; he was younger brother of विश्वनाथ and प्रभाकर ; (3) By विट्ठल दीक्षित.

[3] Ibid. p. 520—Cf. "आह्निककौस्तुभ by श्रीनिवास pupil of यादवाचार्य (Baroda O. I. No. 8809) This is a Comm. On सदाचारस्मृति of आनन्दतीर्थ"

[4] Aufrecht (CCI,413) mentions "भीमसेन, a tantric teacher mentioned in शक्तिरत्नाकर Oxf. 101 "but no MSS of any work of the title मानसपूजा have been recorded against his name.

पनस—आम्र-फलानि, कन्दमूल, व्यंजनानि, शष्कुलयः, तिलमोदकाः, घृतयुता नाना-विधा मोदकाः, शर्करयुताः पृथुकाः, पुण्डाः, मुद्गादयः, क्षीरान्नं, वटकाः (दधिनिक्षिप्ताः) शृङ्गवेर फलानि, etc.

The Colophon of the *3rd Pariccheda*[5] on folio 354 reads as follows :—

"इति श्रीमन्नारदानुगृहीतेन पुरुषोत्तमाचार्यशिष्येण भीमाचार्यात्मजेन श्रीनिवासा-चार्येण विरचितायामाह्निकपद्धता व पराण्हिको नाम तृतीयः परिच्छेदः"

It is clear from the above lines that श्रीनिवास composed the आह्निकपद्धति and that he was the son of भीमाचार्य and pupil of पुरुषोत्तमाचार्य. The Colophon of the last and the *4th Pariccheda* runs as follows :—

"श्रीनारदहृदंतःस्थनृसिंहस्येरणात्कृता ।
सत्प्रीत्यै श्रीनिवासेन स्यादेषाह्निकपद्धतिः ॥१॥
यै रहं शुकवत्सम्यक् शिक्षितोऽस्मि दयालुभिः ।
ते पुरुषोत्तमाचार्या स्तुष्यंत्वस्या निवेदनात् ॥२॥
दृष्टयापि ग्रंथ संघाश्च ज्ञात्वोद्धृत्य तदाशयं ।
कृतेहं यदिहोनं तत्पूरयंतु विचक्षणाः ॥३॥
श्रीनृसिंह दयासिन्धो नित्यसत्कर्मकृत्प्रिय ।
एतत्पद्धत्युक्तरीत्या प्रसीदाचरतां नृणां ॥४॥६॥

इति श्रीमन्नारदानुगृहीतेन पुरुषोत्तमाचार्यशिष्येण भीमाचार्यात्मजेन श्रीनिवासा-चार्येण विरचिता (या) माह्निकपद्धतौ रात्र्यो नाम चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः ॥४॥ समाप्ता चेयमाह्निक पद्धतिः ॥ शके १७८७ क्रोधन संवत्सरे दक्षिणायने शरदृतौ कार्तिकमासे कृष्णपक्षे अष्टम्यां तिथौ गुरुवासरे प्रथमप्रहरे असुग्रामे विष्णु वैष्णव ब्राह्मणसंनिधौ इदं पुस्तकं समाप्तं ॥ श्रीमद्धनुमद्भीम मध्वात्मक श्रीलक्ष्मी नृसिंहार्पणमस्तु ॥६॥

"The year 1862 is found in watermarks on some folios of the MS. This copy of आन्हिक पद्धति was made in Saka 1787=A.D. 1865 at असुग्राम. The MS is written on

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[5] Cf. Folio 71—"इतिश्रीमन्नारदानुगृहीते......आह्निक पद्धतावौषस्योनाम प्रथम परिच्छेदः"

Folio 155—"इति श्रीमन्नारदानुगृहीतेन etc....आह्निक पद्धतौ पौर्वाह्निको नाम द्वितीयः परिच्छेदः"

[6] Vide p. 656 of P. V. Kane : His. of Dh. I. (1930)—"सदाचारस्मृति by आनन्दतीर्थ in 40 verses—Comm. by नृहरि and रामाचार्य"

Kane also mentions a सदाचारस्मृति by श्रीनिवास (C. P. Cata. 6192)

bluish paper (13″ × 4″ in size). The last numbered folio of the MS is 275 which is followed by the closing folio without folio number. It appears that the closing portion of the *4th Pariccheda* after folio 275 has been lost, though the Colophon of this Pariccheda has been preserved on the last unnumbered folio from which the above extract has been quoted.

On folios 65-67 we find 42 verses of सदाचारस्मृति[6] of आनन्दतीर्थ quoted in extenso and concluded by the remark: "इतिश्रीमदानन्द तीर्थ भगवत्पादाचार्य विरचिता सदाचारस्मृतिः समाप्ता" Other works mentioned and quoted from in this work may be briefly indicated here:—

Folio 6—"इति श्रीपद्मपुराणे गोसावित्री स्तोत्रं संपूर्णं"

11—"भागवते अष्टमस्कंधे प्रथमाध्यायां तिमाँशः"

28—"अथसंध्यावंदनं अस्मतकृत[7] संध्याभाष्यानुसारेण तत्तन्मन्त्रमुख्य देवता नारायणं संध्यायन्कुर्यात्"

44—"इति श्रीब्रह्मपारस्तोत्रं[8] समाप्तं" "ततो विष्णुपुराणोक्त-ब्रह्मपारस्तोत्रं पठेत्"

51—"इति श्रीसत्यप्रियतीर्थकृत[9] टीकाचार्यस्तोत्रं समाप्तं"

53—"कृतं स्तोत्रमिदं पुण्यं श्रीमद्भिरप्पाणाभिधैः इति श्रीराघवेन्द्रस्तोत्रं समाप्तं"

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[7] Aufrecht (CCI, 694) records a Comm. on सन्ध्यावन्दन by श्रीनिवासतीर्थ—Oppert II, 649. Oppert describes सन्ध्यावन्दनभाष्य as a वेदभाष्य by श्रीनिवासतीर्थ. The MS of this work was a paper MS in the possession of Varadendrā Cāri of Bellary in 1885. It may be possible to suggest that this श्रीनिवासतीर्थ also composed the आह्निकपद्धति. If this identity of the two authors श्रीनिवासाचार्य and श्रीनिवासतीर्थ is proved independently we shall have to suppose that आह्निक पद्धति was composed after the सन्ध्यावन्दनभाष्य.

[8] CCI, 381—"ब्रह्मपारस्तोत्र—Burnell 201[b]. A Stotra with this name from *Varāhapurāṇa* and *Viṣṇupurāṇa* is given in स्मृत्यर्थसागर and explained by नृसिंह—from *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa.*

[9] *CCI, 689*—"सत्यप्रियतीर्थ previously Rāma Candrā Cārya successor of Satyavijayatīrtha, *died in 1745.* Bhr. p. 205

Folio 53—"अथ ब्रह्मयज्ञः छलारि नृसिंहाचार्ये[10] ब्रह्मविषयायाः-
सदाचार स्मृतेः......व्याख्यातत्वात् श्रीनिवासाचार्यैस्तु
तदुत्तर कर्तव्यतीर्थत्वेन व्याख्यातत्वात् संदेह प्राप्ते ॥

Folio 129—"इति तंत्रसारोक्त[11] मन्त्रजपप्रकारः" (See folio 140—
"तंद्रसाराद्यन्यतमग्रंथानां")

Folio 147—"इति मध्वाचार्यकृत सप्तत्रिंशग्रंथानां मालिकास्तोत्रं"

Folio 154—"इति श्रीमज्जयतीर्थ भिक्षुविरचिता तंत्रसारपूजायाः
पद्यमाला समाप्ता"

Folio 80—"इति श्री पञ्चरात्रागमे अष्टाक्षरकल्पे हंसब्रह्म संवादे
जितंते स्तोत्रे[12] पञ्चमोऽध्याय"

Folio 93—"इति श्रीमत्कृष्णद्वैपायनकृत ब्रह्मसूत्रे चतुर्थाध्यायस्य
चतुर्थः पादः"

Folio 204—"इति श्रीमदानंदतीर्थ भगवत्पादाचार्य विरचिते
द्वादशस्तोत्रे[13] द्वादशोऽध्यायः ॥१२॥"

Folio 246—"इति श्रीमदानंदतीर्थ भगवत्पादाचार्य विरचिते
अणुवेदांते[14] तृतीयोऽध्यायः"
—"इति......अणुवेदान्ते चतुर्थोध्यायः"

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[10] Vide Kane : *His of Dh.* I, 698—"छलारि or छल्लारि नृसिंह (or (नरसिंह) Son of नारायण ; author of स्मृत्यर्थसागर (of which कालतरङ्ग is first part) and आह्निक for माध्व. *Later than 1675 A. D.*

[11] Aufrecht *CCI*, 222—"तन्त्रसार by आनन्दतीर्थ" "Comm. by श्रीनिवासतीर्थ Rice 96" MS "Rice 96" belonged to one सामाचार्य of Mysore. It is a gloss on तन्त्रसार called शर्कर श्रीनिवासतीर्थीय. (Vide p. 96 of *Mysore and Coorg MSS Cata* by Rice, 1884).

[12] Aufrecht *CCI*, 206,—"जितंतेस्तोत्र from पञ्चरात्रागम. Burnell 201[a] Bhr. 42.551. Taylor 1. 286. 287. Oppert 58.3623.5044. See पञ्चजितंते'

[13] Aufrecht, *CCI*, 264—'द्वादशस्तोत्राणि by आनन्दतीर्थ 4.1312 and Comm. Burnell 107[a]. Bhr. 694. Taylor 1, 398. Rice 272. SB. 396.'

[14] Aufrecht, *CCI*, 6—"अणुवेदान्त by Rāmasāstrin. Rice 130" On pp. 46-47 Aufrecht records a list of the works of आनन्दतीर्थ in which no work of the title अणुवेदान्त is mentioned. The MS of अणुवेदान्त indicated by Aufrecht as "Rice 130" consisted of 1000 grantha. The text of अणुवेदान्त as quoted in the आह्निक पद्धति consists of अध्याय as follows :—

"अथ अणुवेदान्तं पठन् गंधादि धारयेत् ॥
स चाणुवेदांतः ॐ नारायणम् गुणैः सर्वैरुदीर्णं दोषवर्जितं।......

Chap.		Verses	
Chap.	I—	Verses 1 to 8	= 33 verses.
"	II—	" 1 to 8	
"	III—	" 1 to 7	
"	IV—	" 1 to 10	

The text of the अणुवेदान्त quoted by श्रीनिवास is identical with that of the अणुभाष्य by मध्वाचार्य (=आनन्दतीर्थ) (*Sarvamūla* Edition, Vol. I, pp. 158—160).

Folio 252—"इति श्रीमदानंदतीर्थ भगवत्पादाचार्य विरचितं यमकभारतं [15] समाप्तं"

Folio 257—"इत्यार्षे रामायणे बालकांडे सर्वरामायण संग्रहरूप-श्रीनारदवाक्यं नाम प्रथमः सर्गः"

Folio 260—"इति भागवते महापुराणे सप्तमस्कंधे नवमोध्यायः"

Folio 260—"अथनृसिंह सहस्रनाम स्तोत्रं पठेत्"

Folio 265—"अथ नृसिंह कवचं"

Folio 270—श्रीनारदस्तवं पठेत्"

It would appear from the extracts recorded above that श्रीनिवास, the author of the आह्निकपद्धति, was a follower of the Madhva School in South India or the Maharashtra. Though I am unable to identify him or his family in historical or literary records I shall indicate the possible chronology of his present work आह्निकपद्धति.

On folio 53 of the MS श्रीनिवास refers to an author छलारि नृसिंहाचार्य who appears to be identical with his namesake छलारि नरसिंहाचार्य belonging to the Chalari family, which made "Solid Contribution to the Commentorial literature of the Dvaita Vedānta" according to Prof. B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma,[17] who tells us that Chalāri Nṛsiṁha or Narasiṁha was the son of Chalāri

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Verse 9 of Chap. IV reads as follows :—"पूर्णप्रज्ञेन मुनिना सर्वशास्त्रार्थ संग्रहः । कृतोयं प्रीयतां तेन परमात्मा रमापतिः" of पूर्णप्रज्ञ = आनन्दतीर्थ, the authorship of अणुवेदान्त (33 verses) ascribed to आनन्दतीर्थ in the colophons is supported by the text itself.

[15] Aufrecht *CCI, p. 472*—"यमकभारत a summary of the Mahābhārata in alliterative verse by आनन्दतीर्थ"

[16] आर्षरामायण is another name for योगवासिष्ठ. (Vide Aufrecht *CCI, 54*—आर्षरामायण or आर्षेयरामायण).

[17] Vide *New Indian Antiquary,* Vol. I, pp. 667 ff—article by Prof. Sarma on *"Post—Vyāsarāya Commentators."*

Nārāyaṇācarya and a contemporary of सत्यनाथतीर्थ (1648—1674) of the Uttarādi Muṭṭ.[18]

In view of the above Chronology I am inclined to conclude that श्रीनिवास, the author of the आह्निकपद्धति, is definitely later than A.D. 1700 or so. Then again on folio 51 श्रीनिवास refers to सत्यप्रियतीर्थ who according to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar died in A.D. 1745. If the author सत्यप्रियतीर्थ mentioned by श्रीनिवास is identical with his name-sake mentioned by Bhandarkar, the date of श्रीनिवास becomes posterior to A.D. 1750 or so, and as the MS of his आह्निकपद्धति was copied at असुग्राम in A.D. *1865* on paper

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[18] Ibid, p. 669—छलारि is reported to be a village near Malkhed. The four distinguished writers of the छलारि family are (1) नारायण, (2) नृसिंह, (3) शेष and (4) संकर्षण.

[19] Aufrecht (CC I, 670) mentions the following name-sakes of श्रीनिवासाचार्यः—

(1) श्रीनिवासाचार्य—Secular name of सत्यसंकल्पतीर्थ. Madhva Sect. He *died in A.D. 1842* Bhr. 205

(2) श्रीनिवासाचार्य—later सत्यकामतीर्थ *died in 1872*. Bhr. p. 206.

(3) श्रीनिवासाचार्य—later सत्यपराक्रमतीर्थ *died* in *1880*. These entries may be useful for the identification of श्रीनिवासाचार्य the author of the आह्निकपद्धति. At any rate श्रीनिवासाचार्य (No. 1 above) fits in with my limits for the chronology of आह्निकपद्धति *A.D.* 1750-*1850*.

[20] *No. 696 of 1884-87*—folios 83. The MS begins as follows :—

"श्रीरामं हनूमत्सेव्यं श्रीमध्वंभीमसेवितं ।
श्रीव्यासं मध्वसंसेव्यं समस्ताभीष्टदंभजे ॥१॥
श्रीमदानन्दतीर्थाय चरणावाश्रये निशं ।
रुद्रादिसर्वं विबुधैः संसेव्याविष्टदौ सतां ॥२॥
अक्षोभ्यतीर्थकृतजान् व्यासराम दार्चकान् ।
वंदे ग्रंथार्थ विज्ञप्तै जयराजमुनीनहं ॥३॥ (verse 4 as quoted above)
अथैतत्कृपया श्रीनिवासाख्यायुतसूरिणा ।
प्रकास्यते मया सम्यग्वादावली यथामति ॥५॥"

The MS ends :—

"वादावली प्रकाशोयं श्रीनिवासाभिदायुजा ।
प्रणीतस्तेन मध्वेशः प्रीयतां बादरायणः ॥
इति श्री मद्यदुपत्याचार्य पादाराधकेन श्रीनिवासेन
रचिता वादावलीव्याख्या समाप्ता । श्रीमत् ॥६॥६॥"

This is the only MS of the work referred to by Aufrecht (CCII 133) as "Rgb 696"

containing in watermarks the year 1862 I am inclined to fix the limits of the date of the आह्निकपद्धति between A.D. 1750 and 1850.

Aufrecht mentions one श्रीनिवास as the author of वादावलीव्याख्या, a MS[20] of which is available in the Govt. MSS Library at the B.O.R. Institute, Poona. This MSS is also modern like the MS of the आह्निकपद्धति and is written on paper which has water-marks with some English letters (vide folios 82 and 83). It contains 5 introductory verses. Verse 4 reads as follows :—

"यैरहं शुकवत्सम्यक् सिच्छितोस्मि कृपालुभिः ।
तान्वंदे यादवाचार्यान् वेदेशमुनि सेवकान् ॥४॥"

This verse bears close resemblance to the 2nd verse at the end of the आह्निकपद्धति which reads as follows :—

"यैरहं शुकवत्सम्यक् शिच्छितोऽस्मि दयालुभिः ।
ते पुरुषोत्तमाचार्यास्तुष्यंत्वस्या निवेदनात् ॥२॥"

Whether Śrīnivā, the author of the work वादावली व्याख्या is identical with his name-sake, the author of the आह्निकपद्धति, cannot be determined at present. The resemblance in the cast of the two verses quoted already from the above works may, however, suggest the identity of the authors of these works. But this question needs to be examined closely on the strength of data available in these works. My only object in writing this paper is to bring the MS of the आह्निकपद्धति। to the notice of scholars and to determine the limits for the chronology of this work, which seem to lie between A.D. 1750 and 1850.

THE NAGAR INSCRIPTION OF DHANIKA [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 741

BY

SHAKTIDHAR SHARMA GULERI, M.A.

This inscription, which is edited here for the first time, is reported to have been discovered some six years ago during the clearance of a well at Āgrā, a village three miles west of NAGAR in the Uniyārā *thikānā* of Jaipur. It was removed from its original find spot and deposited at Nagar in the fort (*gaḍh*) of Shri Sardar Singh, the Rao Rājā of Uniyārā. The discovery was brought to light by Mr. S. G. Tewari, then photographer, Archaeological Department, Jaipur and was communicated by Dr. K. N. Puri, then Superintendent of Archaeology, Jaipur to R. B. K. N. Dikshit, the Director General of Archaeology in India, who made necessary arrangements for taking a set of excellent estampages of the inscription. It was deciphered jointly by me and my colleague Mr. Krishnadeva, M.A., a scholar in the Archaeological Survey of India. I am thankful to R. B. K. N. Dikshit and Dr. N. P. Chakravarti for their kind permission to edit the record in the pages of this journal.

The inscription is engraved on a stone-slab containing twenty-four lines of well-engraved writing which covers a space measuring 3′ × 2′ 2″. The letters are deeply cut and the record is in an excellent state of preservation. The lime coating, which covered the stone-slab, seems to have served a good stone preservative. The average size of the letters is $\frac{1}{2}'' \times \frac{1}{3}''$.

The CHARACTERS belong to the northern class of alphabets of the 7th century A.D. They are similar to those of the Vasantgarh inscription of Varmalāta[1] of [Vikrama-] year 682, of the Udaipur inscription of the Guhila prince Aparājita[2] of [Vikrama-] year 718 and the Jhālarāpātan inscription of Durgagaṇa[3] of [Vikrama-] year 746. The chief characteristic of this type is the representation of the medial vowels *ā*, *i*, *ī* and the dipthongs far more frequently by superscript signs placed above the letters than by signs which wholly or partly are attached to the sides of the letters. The characters are almost identical with the Jhālarāpātan inscription, both representing the signs for test letters *ka*, *ja*, *ṭa* and *na* in more developed forms than the Vasantgarh and Udaipur inscriptions. The letter *ya* occurs here, as in the Jhālarāpātan inscription in the cursive form only; its tridented form, which is met with in the Vasantgarh and Udaipur inscriptions is, however, conspicuous by its absence.[4] As in the Vasantgarh and Udaipur inscriptions, the almost square form of the sign for *b*, representing more antique style of writing than the Jhālarāpātan inscription, is to be seen in the present record as for instance in *brahmā* (l. 1) and *ba*° (l. 2). For various signs used to denote the medial vowel ā, see *e.g. brahmā* (l. 1) and *otējā* (l. 2); for *i*, see *e.g. -visha-* (l. 7), *-bhāji* (l. 9) and *-vishamā* (l. 7); for *ī*, see *e.g. -gajālī*, *-bhīm*° (l. 11). For signs for the dipthong *ō* see *e.g. -tāpō* (l. 8), *-dyōta-* (l. 11) and *kō=pi* (l. 13). For somewhat rare signs for the initial *a*, see *e.g. asakṛita-* (l. 12); for *ā* *āditya*

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 187 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 29 ff.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 180 ff.

[4] For Prof. Kielhorn's discussion on the tridented form of Ya in 7th century inscriptions of Northern India, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 29-30.

(l. 1); for *ī iha* (l. 2), for *u ut-kūyat* (l. 15) and for *ē ēva* (l. 17).

The LANGUAGE of the inscription is Sanskrit, and excepting for the words *namō varuṇāya*, a short sentence in line 22 and the date at the end, the text is in verse. In respect of ORTHOGRAPHY the following points call for remark: consonant followed or preceded by *v* is usually doubled, see e.g. *sarvvattra* (l. 3); *anusvāra* preceding a consonant is usually changed into the nasal of that class, see *e.g. -saṅgrām* (l. 7) and *-lāñchhito* (l. 8), but *olaṁkṛitāḥ* (l. 18); *anusvāra* preceding *śa* changes into the guttral nasal, as in *-aṅśu-* (l. 20) and *chatvāriṅśa* (l. 24); and *dukkha* is used for *duḥkha* in line 17.

The inscription belongs to DHANIKA, who is known from his Mewar inscription[5] of [Gupta-] year 407 (=725 A.D.) and the Chātsu inscription of Bālāditya[6] as one of the rulers of the hitherto less known dynasty of the so-called Guhilas of Chātsu. It opens with an obeisance to *Varuṇa* and an invocation of blessings from *Śiva* followed by a verse in praise of *Varuṇa*, who is called here a personification of *Śiva* (vs. 1-2). Then follows the genealogy of Dhanika beginning with *Iśānabhaṭa*. His son was UPENDRABHAṬA. UPENDRABHAṬA's son was the illustrious and proud ruler GUHILA[I]. From him sprang DHANIKA (vs. 3—7). Verses 8—18 are in praise of his innumerable virtues, agreeable appearance, good administration and military exploits. The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a step-well by Dhanika for the use of his subjects, for performing the *abhishēka* of *Śaṅkara* and for acquiring religious merit (vs. 18—28). The step-well referred to seems to be the same as the

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[5] *P. R. A. S. W. C.*, 1905-06, p. 61, No. 2212 and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XII, p. 12, n. 1.

[6] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XII, pp. 11 ff. and Pl.

one at Āgrā, the provenance of the record. It was constructed by the *sūttradhāras* SURYYAVARMMAN, GRAHAVARMMAN and GAṄGĀVARMMAN, sons of GRAHABHATA, a *sūttradhāra* of BHILLAMĀLA.[7] They were expert sculptors and architects and were efficient in the duties of a *sūttradhāra* (v. 29 and ll. 22-23). The eulogy was composed by SAṄGATA, son of VARDDHANA. It was incised by NĀGAVARMMAN, son of YAŚOVARMMAN (vs. 30-31). It was incised in the [Vikrama-] year SEVEN HUNDRED INCREASED BY FORTY-ONE (l. 24). This inscription is the earliest known record (=A.D. 684) of this local dynasty of the Guhilas which, as is evinced from the find-spots of its three records, was ruling from Chāṭsu to Nagar in the Jaipur state and in Jahajpur district in the Udaipur state during the 6th—10th centuries A.D. The second inscription of Dhanika, dated [Gupta-] year 407 (=A.D. 725), was discovered at Dabok in Mewar. It mentions Śrī Dhanika as ruling over DHAVALAGARTTA as a feudatory chief under *parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirājā-paramēśvara-Śrī*-DHAVALAPPADEVA. According to Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, the paramount ruler mentioned in the record is the same as the king DHAVALA of the Maurya dynasty referred to in the Kaṇsuvāṁ inscription[8] of V.S. 795 (=A.D. 738). From the scanty material at our disposal it is not yet safe to adopt such an identification. The Maurya dynasty referred to is not yet fully known; and it is unsafe to attribute any connection between this local dynasty of the Guhilas with the Maurya dynasty ruling in territories now in the Kotah state. From the Chātsu inscription of Bālāditya, again, we learn that Harsharāja, fourth in succession to Dhanika, was a feudatory of Pratihāra Bhōja [I]. It may not be unlikely that these rulers were feudatories of the Pratihāras a

[7] Bhinmal in Jodhpur State.

[8] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 57 ff, and Pl.

few generations before as well; and that Dhavalappadēva may have been a predecessor of Bhōja I. The third record is the undated Chātsu inscription of Bālāditya of about 10th century A.D. The genealogy of the family is traced here from BHARTṚIPATTA, a *brahmakshatriya*, father of Īśānabhaṭa, the first ruler of the present record. It mentions seven more rulers who succeeded Dhanika: ĀUKA, KRISHṆARĀJA, ŚAṀKARAGAṆA, HARSHARĀJA, GUHILA, BHATTA and BĀLĀDITYA. BĀLĀDITYA, the last known ruler of the dynasty, had three sons, *viz.*, VALLABHARĀJA, VIGRAHĀRĀJA, and DEVARĀJA.

This important document, it is noteworthy to observe, hails from Nagar, one of the important Archaeological sites in Rājputānā. The mounds of Nagar, or Karkōta Nagar, covering an area of about four square miles, were carefully surveyed by Carlleyl, who is said to have collected as many as 6,000 copper coins of the Mālavas, which, according to him, 'lay in some places as thick as shells on sea shore.' Carlleyl has utilized in detail the traditional and numismatic data in support of the antiquity of the site. The coins are inscribed in the Brāhmī script of the 2nd century B.C. to the 4th century A.D., during which period Nagar must have been an important city. After the extinction of the tribal republic of the Mālavas and the consequent cessation of indigenous coinage in the 4th-5th century A.D., Nagar, according to Carlleyl, ceased to be a city of importance. The records of this Guhila dynasty show that Nagar came under the Guhilas in the 6th century A.D. During the 6th—10th centuries A.D. Nagar was under the Guhilas, when, I think, it may have regained some of its lost importance. The theory is also borne out by another hitherto unnoticed inscription, dated V.S. 1043, which was discovered in 1940 at Maṇdkilā Tal in Nagar. It consists of thirty-five lines containing thirty seven verses in good classical

Sanskrit.[9] The record *inter alia* describes in detail the prosperity of Nagar, which is called MĀLAVANAGARA in the record. It contained various shrines, and was the abode of many wealthy men and Brāhmaṇas devoted to religion and pursuit of learning. The name of the ruler, however, is not given. He is simply called *lōkanṛipaḥ*. In this city was born NĀGAHARI, a rich *Dharkaṭa-Vaishya*, who erected a *Vishṇu*-temple near VAIDYATAḌĀGA. To his grandson NĀRĀYAṆA is also ascribed the construction of many a śikharas to temples. The object of the inscription is to record that SUNANDA, grandson of Nārāyaṇa, constructed along with shrines of *Vīshṇu, Śiva, Nārāyaṇa* and *Garuḍa* many cabins and wells in the temple originally erected by Nāgahari. The installation took place on Sunday, on *Akshayatritīyā*, the bright fortnight of *Vaiśākha* in the Vikrama year 1043.

Nagar thus continued to remain a prosperous town till at least the 10th century A.D. It then seems to have 'passed through the hands of the Sōlaṅkīs, the Chāhmānas,' and the Kachhwāhas, until now, when it is under the Shekhāwat Rao Rāja of Uniyārā, a feudatory of Jaipur state.

TEXT

[Metres : *Sragdharā*, Vv. 1, 9, 12, 19; *Mālinī*, Vv. 2, 14, 16; *Āryyā*, V. 3; *Vasantatilakā*, Vv. 4, 11, 15, 22, 23;

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[9] The poet has used *parisaṁkhyā* in some places after Bāṇa's style, *cf.* as in:—

निःसारत्वं कदल्यामलिनि मुखरता कोकिले पारपुष्ट्यं ।
कौटिल्यं यत्र केशेष्वसिषु परुषता पुष्करष्वेव बन्धः [॥*]
चापल्यं वाजिन्चारे करिषु मदद्युतिर्विग्रहः शब्दशास्त्रे ।
वस्त्रे दोषाभिधानं मरुदपि च परो वर्णलोपो निरुक्ते ॥

Cf. Kādambarī, p. 6, ll. 10—18 (Peter Peterson's edition, No. XXIV, parts I, II of Bombay Sanskrit series).

Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Vv. 5, 6, 8, 10, 13, 20, 21, 24, 26, 27, 28; *Anushṭubh*, Vv. 7, 17, 18, 25, 29, 30.]

L. 1—ओं[11] नमो वरुणाय ॥ ब्रह्मा विष्णु स्तुतोऽपि प्रभुरपि भजते यः कदाचिन्न गर्व्वं गौरीरुद्धार्द्धदेहोप्यविषयमनसां योग्रिमस्तापसानां। आदित्ये (न्दू) दकाग्नि-क्षितिपवननभोदीक्षिताक्रान्तकायः संसारोच्छित्ति हेतुः स भ—

L. 2—वतु भगवान्भूतयें वश्चिराय ॥ [१ *] जयति च शिवमूर्त्तिर्मूर्च्छितानाथ भीतक्षुधितपथिकदीनप्राणदो[12] लोकपालः। वरुण इह जनानां जन्मकृज्जात-तेजा जगति जनिततोषो ज्यानिजेता प्रजेशः॥ [२ *] श्रीमानीशान भटः क्षितितलतिलको ब—

L. 3—भूव भूपालः। गुणगणबद्धं स्थिरमपि याति यशो यस्य सर्व्वत्र ॥ (३*) श्रीमानु-पेन्द्रभट इत्यभवत्क्षितीन्द्रस्तस्यात्मजः क्षपित तीक्ष्णविपक्षपक्षः। द्रव्याणि यस्य ददतोर्थिजनाय नित्यं पाणिर्म्मुमोच न कदाचिदिहार्द्रभावं (तम्)॥ [४ *] मानी श्री गुहिलः

L. 4—सुतोस्य महतामग्रेसरोभूत्प्रभुः[13] सर्व्वोर्व्वीतल राजमण्डलगुरुः का[14] (न्तः) कलालंकृतः [१ *] प्रख्यातोद्धत वैरिवारणघटा भेदक्षमः क्षान्ति मानुत्तुङ्गो विकसन्मतिः खललताविस्तारदावानलः॥ [५ *] दोयु (र्यु)ग्मे द्वेषिदन्ति-व्रणकिणपदवी यस्य केयूररा—

L. 5—जि: कर्ण्णालंकार उच्चैः प्रविरचित पदो यस्य शास्त्रागमोभूत्। यस्यासीत्की-र्त्तिरेव स्थिरगुण कुसुमोल्लासिनी मुण्डमाला प्रायो ये नेय मस्ता लघुजन दयिता कृत्रिमा मण्डन श्रीः ॥[६ *] गुणरत्ननिधेः स्वच्छात्क्षीरोदादिव चन्द्रमाः। विहतानन्तसन्तापात्ततः श्री धनिको भवत्॥[७ *]

L. 6—नेत्रे नीलसरोज पत्र सदृशे वक्त्रं शशाङ्कप्रभं रक्ताशोकतरु प्रबाल रुचिरच्छा-यासनाथौ करौ। इत्येवं प्रमदा जनोत्सवकरे रूपे सति क्ष्मापतेः सत्वं[15] यस्य समुद्धतोद्धत महासामन्तदर्प्पद्युति॥[८ *] येन प्रोद्धु (द्ध) त्तमत्त द्विरदप-

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[10] From ink estampages.

[11] Expressed by a symbol.

[12] The *mātrā* of *ō* is not completely incised and the letter looks like *dā*.

[13] The *mātrā* of *ō* has not fully been engraved on °*rvvō*.

[14] The subscript *t* in °nta is not fully engraved.

[15] The *anusvāra* on *tva* is very faint.

L. 7—ति घटाभेद दक्षेण धैर्य्याद्दीने भीरौ वराके प्रहृतमशरणे मानिना नो कदाचित्। दूर प्रोत्सारितारेः सुचरित महतः प्राप्तसंग्राम कीर्त्तेर्भुञ्जानस्यापि लक्ष्मी-स्मय विष विषमा यस्य नो राजरीतिः ॥ [९ *] हाराश्चन्दनवारिवारितरु जो रम्या हृ-

L. 8—दि स्थापिता वक्त्रं चन्द्रनिभं ललाट फलकेन्यस्तं लसल्लोचनं। दत्ताङ्ग[16] (ङ्गे) पि जलार्दिद्रका तनुतरे कर्पूरधूलीधरा भर्त्तुर्व्वल्लभया तथापि न हृतो य [त्कोप] तापोद्गमः[17] ॥ [१० *] व्यालोल लोचन जलप्लुतिलाञ्छितानि लम्बालकानि ललितस्मि-

L. 9—त वर्ज्जितानि। त (ता) म्बूल रागरहिताधरभाञ्जि यस्य कोपश्चकार वदनान्यरि सुन्दरीणां (णाम्) ॥ [११ *] कि चित्त्रं यत्र दातर्यमित गुण भृति श्रीमतिक्षान्तिभाजि क्ष्मानाथे धैर्यधाम्नि स्थिरधवलयशो व्याप्तदिक्चक्र-वाले। माद्य द्वेषीभकुम्भस्थल-

L. 10—दलन गल [न्मौक्तिक] क्षोद शुभ्रे दूराद्दृष्टे सखड्गे प्रलयमसुमतं याति चातुर्थं कोपि ॥ [१२ *] भ्रूभङ्गया रहितैरनन्यगतिभिः सन्त्यक्त काला [ञ्ज] नैः रक्तान्ताग [त] बाष्प बिन्दु कणिकाभारी भवत्पक्ष्मभिः। यस्यारातिवराङ्गना नयनकैः क्रीडाप्रसङ्गा—

L. 11—द्विना वैधव्य कृततीव्रतापहृतये धारागृहं मज्जितं (तम्) ॥ [१३ *] तुरगखुर शिखाग्रोद्धूत धूलीवितानं मदमुदित गजालीबद्ध भीमान्धकारं। विमल तरलखड्गद्योत दृष्टारियोधं विगतमरण [भी] तेर्यस्य युद्धं विनोदः [१४] एतस्य वैरिकरि कुम्भ वि—

L. 12—कल्पनार्द्रं मुक्ताफलार्च्चित महारणदेवतस्य। अग्रस्य भोगिपतिमस्तक-मुल्लसन्ती हंसावलीव धवला विरराज कीर्त्तिः ॥ [१५ *] मदमलिन कपोला येन [क्ष] त्ताः करीन्द्राः शिव शुचिगृह माला राजते यस्य दिक्षु। अपकृत परितापा यस्य

L. 13—भूमि स्त [टाकः[18]] सकलरिपुविजेता यस्य कोपि प्रपंचः ॥ [१६ *] आ-विष्कृतान्तः सन्तापं भयभ्रान्त विलोचनं। विद्राणैः किंचिदुच्छ्वासं यस्य विद्वेषिभिः स्थितं (तम्)। [१ *] [१७ *] हासच्छायाः शिवस्येव मन्दाराणामिव स्रजः। शशाङ्कस्येव रुचयो राजन्ते यस्य कीर्त्तयः[19] ॥ [१८ *]

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16 The *mātrā* of *ē* on °*ṅgē* is not fully incised.

17 The *mātrā* on °*tk*° is not clear: The letter following °tk[ō] has also been corroded partially in the lower left portion. The word has not come out clearly in the other estampage, so much so that the reading appears to be *yat-kāma*°.

18 It appears that the slab is corroded at this place. The letters *s=taṭākaḥ* have not come out clearly in the estampage.

L. 14—लोकानन्दं ददाति प्रकटयति सदा पादपानां विवृद्धिं का [न्ता] कान्तावगाह च्युत विमलमहार [त्न] संक्रान्त दीप्ति। अच्छं मूर्च्छां च्छिनत्ति च्छुरयति ककुभो यच्च वल्लीविनीलास्तत्पुंसां संविधत्ते सुखममृतमहो चारु किञ्चित्किमत्र ॥ [१९ *]

L. 15—[20]अम्भोम्भोज दलैरलंकृतमलं कल्हारजालाकुलं तीरोपान्ततरु (रो) र फुल्ल विलसल्लीनालि मालोज्वलं। उत्कूजत्कलहंस सारसकुला क्रान्तो [र्मि] रम्यं सदा तत्पाणिद्वितयस्थितं पिबति को देव प्रसादाद्विना॥ [२० *] उच्चैरुच्चभुजो (जे ?) न देवप—

L. 16—तिना मूर्द्धना धृतं शम्भुना गङ्गायाः पतदच्छमौक्तिकफलाकारं पयो यत्तदा। एतत्तरुत्प्रकटागमेन रुचिरामापूर्य वापीं स्थित (तं) कस्यान्यस्य समस्तसत्त्व सुखदा शक्तिः प्रहीणाम्भसः॥ [२१ *] प्राणप्रदं वदन नेत्र विकासकारि को वारि वारय—

L. 17—ति दुक्ख (दुःख) पदेपि पुंसां। एतद्विचिन्त्य सुचिरं जित शत्रुणेयं वापीकृता लसदना विलतोय पुरा॥ [२२ *] आलोक[21] एव जनसंहृति चित्तहारि पर्व्वाणि भिन्ददिव शीततयाङ्गुलीनां। धन्याः पिबन्ति तरदुत्पलहृद्य गन्धं शीलदृशो मर—

L. 18—कतद्युतिवारि वाप्याः॥ [२३ *] तृष्णां हन्ति जने रुजं विजयते तापाग्नि-हन्त्युच्छ्रितं त्रैलोक्याधिपतेः प्रकाशित महासम्भूतिविष्णोरपि। सत्वान्त (न) न्द विधायि किं न कुरुते नीरं गुणैरुज्ज्वलं मत्वैतत्कृतिनात्र तेन सलिलै सर्व्वा दिशो लंकृताः॥ [२४ *] नि—

L. 19—जा [म्भो] ज रजो राजि विराजित दिगन्तरा। कृतैषा कीर्त्तये तेन शङ्कर स्मपनेच्छया॥ [२५ *] दर्भाग्रा शतवारि बिन्दु चपलाः प्राणाः प्रजानाममी बाला लोल विद्रूलपत्रतरलं पुंसामिदं यौवनं। नो तिष्ठत्य चिरप्रभा विलसिता छारा—

L. 20—विभूतिर्यतस्त द्धीरैः[22] शरदिन्दु पादविशदे कार्यो यशस्यादरः॥ [२६*] काले हंस विरावरम्य भुवने स्वच्छोच्छल द्वारिणि प्राणोत्साहकरे च याति सुरभौ वाते मनोहारिणि। आदित्ये लसदंशु (दंशु) जाल जटिलस्फारस्फुरत्तेजसि

L. 21—श्रीमान्वारिनिधानमेतदधिकं धर्म्मेच्छयाकारयत्॥ [२७ *] यावन्मेरुरुदग्र-काञ्चनशिलस्तिष्टत्यलंघ्यः क्षितौ चन्द्रार्क्कावपि यावदुज्ज्वल रुची स्तौ मण्ड-यन्तौ नभः। यावत्सप्तसमुद्रमुद्रिततनुं शेषो विधत्ते भुवन्तावत्कीर्त्तिरियं शशा-

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[19] A *daṇḍa* occurs at the beginning of the line.

[20] The letter is corroded.

[21] The first *pāda* of the verse is short by one syllable.

[22] The engraver has inadvertently incised a stroke to the right side of the letter °*rai*.

L. *22*—ङ्करुचिरा राज्ञो जनैर्ग्गीयतां ।।[२८ *] जाता ग्रह्भटस्यात्र त्रयः पुत्त्रास्त्र-सद्द्विषः। शरच्चन्द्रकरा कारभ्रमत्त्रैलोक्यकीर्त्तयः।। [२९ *] श्री भिल्ल मालसूत्त्रधारग्रहभटोत्पन्नसूर्यवर्म्म ग्रहवर्म्म गङ्गावर्म्मभिः सूत्र—धारत्वकुशलै रूपकर्म्म—

L. *23*—निपुणैर्व्वास्तु विद्यापारगैः कर्म्मान्तिपतिभिः सूत्त्रं विधृत्य तैरेवेयं कारिता।। श्रीवर्द्धनस्य पुत्त्रेण सङ्कटेन सुमेधसा। प्रशस्तिरेषा रचिता देवतास्तुति-मिच्छता।। [३० *] यशोवर्म्मसुतेनेयं साधुना नागवर्म्मणा रम्या प्रशस्ति-

L. 24—रुत्कीर्ण्णा कलाकौशलशालिना।। [३१ *] सम्वत्सर शतेषु सप्तस्वेक-चत्वारिङ्श (रिश) दधिकेषु निवेशः[23]।।

TRANSLATION

(L. 1)—Om! Obeisance to *Varuṇa*!

(V. 1)—May that Lord (*Śiva*) long bestow happiness upon you!—(*the Lord*) who is the cause of the annihilation of the universe; whose body is composed of the sun and the moon, water, fire and earth, air, sky and the sacrificing priest,[24] who though half of his form is shared by (*his consort*) *Gaurī*, is foremost amongst ascetics of controlled minds; (*and*) who, though all powerful (*and*) propitiated by (*even*) *Brahmā* and *Vishṇu*, never cherishes conceit.

(V. 2)—And victorious here is *Varuṇa*, the Lord of the people, the conqueror of infirmity and the generator of happiness in the world; who is the progenitor of mankind, (*and*) a personification of *Śiva* (*and*) a guardian deity of the quarters; whose effulgence is manifest, (*and*) who infuses

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[23] A floral device occurs here.

[24] The eight forms of *Śiva* consisting of five elements, the sun and moon and the sacrificing priest, so often met with in literature are eulogized here;

जलं वह्निस्तथा यष्टा सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ तथा। आकाशं वायुरवनी मूर्त्तयोष्टौ पिनाकिनः ।। also *Śākuntalam*, 1, 1; and *Kumārasambhava*, canto 7, verse 76.

life (*by supplying the life-giving water*) in the unconscious, the helpless, the frightened, the hungry, the traveller and the miserable.

(V. 3)—There was born the ruler, the illustrious Iśānabhaṭa, a very sandal-paste on the forehead of the earth, whose stable fame, though secured by a series of virtues, used to travel far and wide.

(V. 4)—His son was the ruler, the illustrious UPENDRABHATA by name, who had exterminated the powerful rank of enemies; (*and*) whose hand, while distributing riches to the needy always remained wet (*or alternately, never abandoned the feeling of compassion*).

(V. 5)—His son was the proud ruler, the illustrious GUHILA, who was leader (of chiefs), (*and*) was foremost among the group of kings of the whole world; who was agreeable in appearance, (*and*) was adorned with skill in arts; who was expert in piercing the array of elephants of the eminent and haughty enemies; who was endowed with forbearance; (*and*) was high-minded; whose intelllect was expanding, (*and*) who was a very forest fire in destroying the expanse of creepers in the form of vicious men.

(V. 6)—(*Guhila*). To him,—the scars of wounds inflicted on his two arms by the elephants of (*his*) enemies served as a row of armlets, the loud recital of well composed religious texts served his ear-ornament; the only garland on whose head was his fame which was resplendent with flowers in the form of stable virtues; by whom was (*thus*) often discarded all beauty resulting from factitious decorations which are favoured by mean men.

(V. 7)—From him (Guhila), the repository of virtues, who was pure-minded, (*and*) who had warded off innumerable calamities, sprang DHANIKA, like the moon from the pure milky ocean, the treasure of gems, which has appeased the immense heat (*of the earth*).

(V. 8)—(*Dhanika*)—His two eyes bore resemblance to the petals of a blue lotus, his countenance the lustre of the moon, (*and*) his two hands the pleasing beauty of the red sprigs of an *Aśoka* tree; while such handsome form of the king caused delight to the women-folk, his prowess grew resplendent by the extermination of the conceit of haughty feudatory chiefs.

(V. 9)—By him (*Dhanika*),—who was proud, (*and*) was expert in cleaning the infuriated and intoxicated array of mighty elephants,—due to his virtue of forbearance,—was never hurt a person who was distressed, (*or*) frightened, pitiable (*or*) helpless. While he,—the performer of many excellent deeds, who had completely exterminated his enemies,—was enjoying the fame acquired in the battle-fields, his policy of administration was not distorted from the venomous smiles of fortune.

(V. 10)—The increasing heat of whose anger was not cooled by the beloved of the king though she placed on (*his*) chest agreeable garlands, which had their impurities washed by the sandal-water, and placed her moon-like face, having charming eyes, on (*his*) temples, and applied the unguent containing camphor power wet with water, on (*his*) frail body.

(V. 11)—Whose anger made the faces of the beautifu

wives of his enemies possessed of lips devoid of the red colour of betel leaves; (*faces*)—which were devoid of coquetish smiles and which had hairs loosened and dishevelled with tears trickling from their trembling eyes.

(V. 12)—What wonder is there if on (*just*) a distant glimpse of the king, while he is armed with sword, even the quartan fever of the living beings is completely destroyed;—(*the king*), who is liberal and is endowed with prosperity, forbearance and innumerable virtues; who is the repository of courage; whose stable and unstinted fame has enveloped the circle of quarters; who is brightened with the powder of pearls falling during the cleaving of the frontal globes of intoxicated elephants of the adversaries.

(V. 13)—Whose bathroom was flooded with tears of the wives of his enemies, which,—as there was no occasion left (*for them*) for an amorous play,—were shed, (*as if*) to appease the immense (*heat of*) grief caused by (*their*) widowhood, from their motionless eyes which were devoid of coquetish glances; (*and*) had given up the application of black collyrium, and the lashes of which were becoming heavy with particles of tears oozing out of red corners.

(V. 14)—To him, who had abandoned fear of death, warfare was (*just*) a sport,—(*warfare*) where dust raised from the sharp ends of the hooves of horses forms a canopy; where intense darkness is produced by the row of elephants exhilarated by intoxication, (but) where the array of enemies can only be spotted by the flash of transparent and glittering swords.

(V. 15)—The glory of this eminent (*hero*),—who had propitiated the great deity of war with fruits in the form of pearls which were wet (*with blood*) as they had been cleft from the frontal globes of the elephants of his enemies,[25]—shone forth above the heads of lords of kings as pure as the row of white swans.

(V. 16)—By him were destroyed elephants having temples soiled with the rut-juice; the row of whose auspicious and pure houses shines in all quarters;—whose country with its calamities warded off resembled a very pool;—(*and*) whose each effort (*how so ever trifling*) conquered all (*his*) adversaries.

(V. 17)—His enemies, who were running from the battle-field, stopped for a while panting for breath with their internal affliction manifest and with glances distracted with fear.

(V. 18)—Whose glories, resembling the brightness of *Śiva's* laughter, the garlands of *mandāra* flowers and the beauty of the moon shine forth (*in the world*).

(V. 19)—What surprise is there in the fact that the lovely and transparent water generates happiness to the mankind;—(*water*) which is resplendent with pure and costly gems dropped by beautiful women during (*their*) ablution; which cures unconsciousness, and which adorns quarters with green vegetation?

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[25] It is not unlikely that the author of the Kaṇsuvā inscription has borrowed this idea in the following verse:—

कोपाल्लूनमहेभकुम्भविगलन्मुक्ताफलालंकृत स्फीतास्रस्रुति मण्डिता अपि मुहुर्येनोर्ज्जितेन स्वयं (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol XIX p. 58, l 6).

(V. 20)—Who can without God's favour, drink that water by holding it in (*his*) two hands?—(the water) which is profusely adorned with petals of lotuses; which abounds in the mass of *kalhāra* flowers; which is resplendent with the row of trees growing on its bank, having bees clinging to and sporting with (*its*) unblossomed flowers; (*and*) which is always agreeable with its ripples covered with the assemblage of swans and cranes making inarticulate sounds.

(V. 21)—The same pure water of the Ganges, falling from great height and resembling pearls in shape, which was formerly held by the high-armed *Śiva*, the lord of the gods, stands now manifestly filled in the step-well,—otherwise what other lowly water has the potentiality of yielding happiness to all creatures?

(V. 22)—'Who can even in distress deprive men from water which infuses life and nourishes face and the eyes?' having pondered over it for a long time was this step-well filled with shining and pure water by him, the conqueror of enemies.

(V. 23)—Blessed people, whose conduct is righteous, drink the water of this step-well, which has the splendour of an emerald, and the agreeable fragrance of lotuses floating on it; which, on its very sight attracts the heart of all people, (*and*) cuts as if it were the joints of fingers with its coolness.[26]

(V. 24)—All the quarters were decorated here by the king thinking that water quenches thirst,

[26] The poet seems to have borrowed this idea from Kālidāsa; उद्वेजयत्यङ्गुलिपार्ष्णिभागान्मार्गे शिलीभूतहिमेऽपि यत्र । *Kumārasambhava*, canto verse 11.

overcomes the diseases in men and completely allays the heat even of *Vishṇu* the lord of the three worlds, whose great power is manifest; and what else does it, resplendent with virtues, not do for generating happiness in the living beings?

(V. 25)—This (*step-well*), which has made the quarters resplendent with the row of pollen of its lotuses, was constructed by that (*ruler*) with the desire of performing *Śiva's* ablutions, (*and*) for the sake of (*achieving*) fame.

(V 26)—(*Thinking*) 'that the life of mankind is as unstable as the hundred drops of water (*resting*) on the tips of grass, (*and*) this youth of men is as frivolous as the leaves of the tremulous infantine reeds; (*and*) the prosperity is as transitory as the splendour of light, in the rays of the autumnal moon,'—the wisemen should have regard for fame.

(V. 27)—The illustrious (*ruler*), with the desire of attaining religious merit, caused this extensive reservoir of water to be constructed during the season when the world is pleasant with cooings of swans; when water is transparent and is springing upwards; and when the fragrant and pleasant breeze, which infuses enthusiasm in life is blowing; (*and*) when the sun has (*its*) brilliance resplendent due to its profusely dense mass of glittering rays.

(V 28)—May the king's glory, which is as lustrous as the moon, be sung by the people as long as the mountain *Mēru*, with (*its*) high golden peaks, remains uncrossed on the earth;—and as long as the moon and the sun, having resplendent lusture, adorn the sky;—(*and*) as long as *Śēsha*

carries (*on his hoods*) the earth with its surface bounded by the seven oceans.

(V. 29)—There were born to GRAHABHATA three sons, who frightened (*their*) rivals (*in profession*) whose glory, resembling the rays of the autumnal moon, spread in the three worlds.

(Ll. 29—33)—This (*step well*) was constructed by holding the measuring chord by those very SŪRYYA-VARMMAN, GRAHAVARMMAN and GAṄGĀVARMMAN, sons of the illustrious GRAHABHATA, the *sūtradhāra* of BHILLAMĀLA; who were efficient in the duties of a *sūtradhāra*; who were accomplished sculptors, (*and*) profound (*scholars*) in the science of architecture, (*and*) who were in charge of the execution of the work.

(V. 30)—This eulogy was composed by SAṄGATA, son of the illustrious VARDDHANA, who was endowed with intelligence (*and*) who was desirous of eulogising the Lord.

(V. 31)—This excellent eulogy was incised by the noble NĀGAVARMMAN, son of YAŚOVARMMAN, who was endowed with skill in arts.

(L. 24)—(*It was*) incised in the year SEVEN HUNDRED INCREASED BY FORTY-ONE.

TWO RINGS OF THE MUSEUM OF IBIZA (SPAIN)

BY

H. HERAS, S. J.,
Bombay.

In the Museum of Ibiza, the capital of the third Balearic island, there are two simple golden rings, discovered in the necropolis of the "Puig des Molins" (Hill of the Mills), which are of extraordinary interest to the student of the Proto-Indian Civilization. Each of these rings bears a small signet with some sign or signs inscribed on it, which signs reveal some intimate relationship between those rings and the East.

The first ring bears this sign only :—

This sign is one of the signs of the proto-Indian script and it reads *kōn*, and means "king"[1] Consequently this seems to have been a royal signet and therefore the ring itself had belonged to a king.

The partisans of the Carthagenean origin of that necropolis will probably say that this is a sign or symbol found inscribed on many a Carthagenean piece of sculpture and which is the symbol of Baal. We shall not discuss here the question of the origin of that very interesting necropolis. But we must say that the symbol of Baal is

[1] Cf. Heas, "La Escritura Proto-Indica y su desciframiento," *Ampurias*, I, p. 25.

somewhat different from the above sign. The C
nean sign is as follows :-

This is a compound sign, the compounding ele
which are the following :—

Δ , kō, "high"
O , el, "the sun"
ᒧ , maga, "the son"

Therefore the compound sign will read thus :
maga" (The -*v*-between *kō* and *el*, is a euphonic c
between two vowels). This reading may be
into English : "The son of the high Sun."[2] Nc
Phoenician pantheon the son of *El*, "the sun", is
who receives the generic denomination of Baal
means "the Lord."[3]

The sign inscribed on the ring of Ibiza i
different from this, though having a common
which is

The signs of the other ring are still more int
They appear within the pointed oval signet thus

They are two fishes, probably two sharks, of t
and style of the sharks which very often ap
Mediterranean coins of littoral cities, for

[2] Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 27.

[3] Contenau, *La CivilisationPhenicienne*, pp. 107-1(

Syracuse.[4] Each of these two fishes has a small open angle over its head. This small angle is the determinative of personality in the Proto-Indian script.[5] Thus the sign is the stylized sign for fish, which reads *mīn* and means "fish". Now by placing that little angle over this sign, thus , the reading and meaning is already changed. It reads *mīnan* which means "a fish man", "a man of the tribe of the fish".

Now on the Ibiza signet the *two little angles* were not placed in a hazardous and careless way. They are not over the tails, but clearly over the heads. Nor are they added there to fill up the space left free at both ends of the oval, because if that were the intention of the engraver, the angle would be between the head of one fish and the tail of the other. But the angles are unmistakably placed over the head of each fish.

The fishes shown on this signet are two, which is plural in the proto-Indian script, for whatever is more than one is plural. Whenever they wish to express plural they repeat the sign, thus:

which reads: *Paravir pali, i.e.*, "the city of the Paravas"; or

which reads: *Tirayir adu, i.e.*, "of the Tirayars" or

[4] Forrer, *The Weber Collection*, Vol. I, Pl. 63, Nos. 1615—18.

[5] Cf. Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

[6] Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro*, III, pl. CXI, No. 338.

[7] Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*, II, pl. LXXXIX, No. 150.

"These (are) the Tirayars". In our case the sign of the fish with the determinative of personality will read *mīnan* and adding the plural termination will become *mīnanir*, *i.e.*, "the men of the tribe of the fish" or "the Mīnas". This therefore seems to be a signet of the tribe of the Mīnas or a section of them. How could such a signet migrate so far to the Western Mediterranean?

We readily admit that the signet under study is of purely Mediterranean manufacture. The two fishes or sharks are thoroughly Mediterranean. We have never found in India such representation of fishes. Yet though Mediterranean in their execution they are purely Indian as regards the script. The Mīnas were a tribe of the Proto-Indian nation dedicated to maritime trade. That was the reason why they were called *Mīnas*, "Fishes" A section of the tribe settled in Yemen in the Arabian peninsula, where they were called *Minœi* by Strabo.[8] Another group was established in continental Greece, being styled *Minyæ* by Herodotus.[9] Among the number of off-shoots of the proto-Indian nation which travelled to the Mediterranean, there must have been another section established further west, to whom the signet in question belonged.

The finding of this seal of the Mīnas in Ibiza may finally lead us to accept either of these two conclusions. Either a section of the Mīnas was settled in the Balearic Archipelago, or at least in Ibiza; or this ring was imported to Ibiza by some of the merchants coming from the eastern Mediterranean regions. One of these merchants, or perhaps the whole band, were very likely Mīnas. One of them may have died while in Ibiza and eventually was buried there with his signet ring in his finger. We have no sufficient data to settle this question at present. In

[8] Strabo, XVI, 4.

[9] Herodotus, IV, 145-146.

any case this is the first time that the name of the *Mīnas* is found in connection with the western Mediterranean, and this is a very important piece of information for the history of early European civilization. Shall we some day discover new data about the Mīnas in continental Spain itself?

THE VAIYYĀKARAṆA CONCEPTION OF "GENDER"

BY

K. A. SUBRAMANIA IYER, M.A.,

Head of the Dept. of Sanskrit and Hindi,
University of Lucknow.

The modern linguist's knowledge of many languages belonging to different families has enabled him to collect a very large number of facts on gender and other similar distinctions in languages. As a result of his labours, we now know that corresponding to the division of words into masculine, feminine and neuter in some Indo-European languages some other languages divide them into animate and inanimate or names of big things and names of small things etc. The word 'gender' is now used by linguists to designate all such distinctions. As Jespersen puts it: "By the term 'gender' is here meant any grammatical class-division presenting some analogy to the distinction in the Aryan languages between masculine, feminine and neuter, whether the division be based on the natural division into the two sexes or on that between animate and inanimate or on something else."[1] All these divisions are based upon some feeling or appreciation of things and events outside. But it has been noticed that none of these distinctions is based upon a consistent and logical division of things and events. The lack of correspondence between distinctions of gender and divisions of reality outside has become a commonplace in the literature on Linguistics. A few examples will suffice. Masculine words can denote female beings: दाराः

[1] Jespersen—The Philosophy of Grammar. p. 226.

for 'wife' in Sanskrit; 'weisel' for 'queen-bee' in German; neuter words can stand for female beings: कलत्रं for 'wife' in Sanskrit, 'mädchen' for 'maiden' in German. Masculine and feminine words denote sex-less things in many languages.

Modern Linguists have tried to give an explanation of these facts. As in the case of their enquiry into other aspects of language, here also, their point of view has been an historical one. They have tried to find out, if possible, what feelings or appreciations of things and events led men to divide the words standing for them into various kinds and to follow those divisions in the different stages in the history of a language to see what changes occur in them. Neither on the question of the origin of these distinctions nor on that of the causes of change in them are all linguists in complete agreement. But certain points have now become clear. Whether gender distinctions were originally based on a division of things into animate and inanimate or male and female, or small and big, the history of these distinctions in particular languages is determined by external and formal reasons only.

In Ancient India, the thinkers were not particularly concerned with historical questions. They must have noticed that certain words changed their gender while passing from Sanskrit into Prakrit, but they did not enquire as to why the change occurred. Instead of that, they raised the more fundamental question of the nature of gender itself. Ever though they had only data derived from Indian languages before them, particularly from Sanskrit, they realised the main difficulties in regard to gender. The lack of correspondence between gender and sex was the first thing which came to their notice also. In languages like English, the word 'sex' stands for the distinction found in objects and the word 'gender' for the distinction found in languages. In spite of this

difference in terminology, the two distinctions belonging to two different worlds are sometimes confused and the popular mind expects to find a close correspondence between the two. In Sanskrit there is only one word standing for both kinds of distinctions and it is only natural that a belief in the existence of a close relation between the two should have arisen very early in the history of linguistic studies in India. The following are some of the facts which were noticed by Sanskrit grammarians: (1) Some words like शङ्ख and पद्म are both masculine and neuter. (2) Others are feminine and neuter like भागधेयम्, भागधेयी. (3) Others are masculine and feminine like इषु, अशनि etc. (4) Others have all the three genders: तटः, तटी, तटम्. (5) Some words like वृक्ष are masculine only. (6) Others like खट्वा are feminine only. (7) Others still like दधि are neuter only. It is these seven facts which are referred to by Bhartṛhari when he says:

उपादानविकल्पाश्च लिङ्गानां सप्त वर्णिताः।[2]

Other facts which they had noticed are: (1) Gender sometimes varies with number, ex. गृहम् and गृहाः. (2) Gender varies with meaning: अर्ध is neuter when it means 'half', but masculine when it means a 'part'. (3) The words स्त्रीत्वं, स्त्रीता and स्त्रीभावः all denote femininity, but they are in three different genders. (4) Sometimes gender varies when the idea of magnitude has also to be expressed: महद्धिमं हिमानी, महदरण्यं अरण्यानी etc. On the basis of the above facts, the problem, as it arose in India, was this: Is the distinction of masculine, feminine and neuter found in the nouns and adjectives of the Sanskrit language, based on some real attributes found in the things denoted by these words or is it only a distinction belonging

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[2] Bhartṛh —Vākyapadīyam III. Liṅga. 3.

to the realm of words. In other words, is gender अर्थधर्म or शब्दधर्म ?

Indian thinkers have always conceived of the relation between words and meanings or things—the word अर्थ in Sanskrit stands for both—as being particularly close and intimate. Some of them have even maintained that the relation between the two is identity (अभेद). Even those who maintained that there was only a conventional relation between the two conceived of this convention as having been established by God. The view that the relation between the two is arbitrary and due to human convention only was very rarely held. If the relation between words and things was so intimate, it is only natural that words should reflect in some way the nature of things, that the properties of words should be symbolic of the properties of things. One of the properties of words in the Sanskrit language was लिङ्ग. It was, therefore, held that लिङ्ग was also the property of things.

There was, however, a certain amount of disagreement as to the nature of this property. From the fact that some words of masculine gender denoted male beings, some of feminine gender female beings and some of neuter gender sexless things, some drew the conclusion that लिङ्ग as a property of things stood for sex. It is this view which is expressed in the following verse quoted in the Mahābhāṣya

स्तनकेशवती स्त्री स्याल्लोमशः पुरुषः स्मृतः ।
उभयोरन्तरं यच्च तदभावे नपुंसकम् ॥[3]

Bhartṛhari puts it in his own words as follows :—

स्तनकेशादिसम्बन्धो विशिष्टा वा स्तनादयः ।[4]

This is the popular conception of लिङ्ग according to which there are three kinds of things in this world, male, female and sex-less things and masculine, feminine and

[3] Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini IV. 1.3

[4] Vākyapadīyam. III. Linga. 1.

neuter words denote these three kinds of things. Though the above verse looks like a definition of लिङ्ग as a property of things, it was meant to explain लिङ्ग as a property of words and this point becomes clear from the way in which नपुंसक is defined. 'Male' and 'female' have been defined by reference to the male and female sex-signs taken in their widest possible sense. 'Neuter' has been defined as that which has not got the signs of the male or the female sex and yet resembles that which has. This partly negative and partly positive character of the neuter is meant to explain certain facts of the Sanskrit language. The meaning expressed by verbs in Sanskrit does not possess sex-signs of the male or the female and if that was the only characteristic of the sex-less or the neuter, verbs should be neuter in gender. But we know that they are not. That is because the things which verbs stand for do not possess the other characteristics of the sex-less referred to above, namely, that it should resemble the male and the female in having its own characteristic. Verbs denote processes and not things and processes cannot have any characteristics resembling sex-signs. This popular definition of लिङ्ग obviously suffers from certain defects. It does not explain why words like खट्वा and वृक्ष, expressive of things which do not possess the male or the female sex-signs are yet feminine and masculine in gender. Two explanations might be offered. The first is that though the objects denoted by खट्वा and वृक्ष have no female and male sex-signs respectively, we cognise them through error, as we cognise water in a desert or a gandharva city in the sky.[5] This erroneous cognition is reflected in the words which we use for these two objects. Language is as good an instrument for conveying invalid cognitions as for conveying valid cogni-

[5] असत्तु मृगतृष्णावत्...। गन्धर्वनगरं यथा। Vārttika on P. IV. 1.3

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[5] असत्तु मृगतृष्णावत्...। गन्धर्वनगरं यथा । Vārttika on P. IV. 1.3

tions. Some words, therefore, express the persistent erroneous cognitions of a speech—community and खट्वा and वृक्ष are examples of such words.[6] Facts of language can be explained not only by reference to reality outside, but also by our valid and invalid cognitions of them. The second explanation which might be offered is that objects like खट्वा and वृक्ष have sex-signs, but we never perceive them. We infer their existence from their effect, namely, that the words which express these objects are feminine or masculine. But this explanation is unsatisfactory. How can we tell that the gender of words is an effect if we never perceive their alleged cause, namely, the sex of the objects denoted by these words? Do we say that a bed has sex because the word खट्वा is feminine or do we say that the word खट्वा is feminine because the bed has sex? It is not clear. We seem to be arguing in a circle.[7]

So far we have been considering the popular conception of लिङ्ग expressed in the verse quoted from the Mahābhāṣya. According to this conception, लिङ्ग means 'sex' and the gender of words expresses 'sex.' But one and the same thing may be expressed by the same word in three different genders. तटः, तटी and तटम्—all mean the same thing. How can one and the same thing be presumed to have all the sexes? Sometimes the same thing may be referred to by three different words in three different genders. The words अर्थ, and व्यक्तिः and वस्तु can refer to any object in the world and they have three different genders. They, therefore, point to the existence of three different sexes

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[6] शब्देनसम्यग्ज्ञानमिथ्याज्ञानाभ्यामावेदितस्यार्थस्याविशेषेणाभिधानाच्चेतनेषु देवतादिष्विवा-चेतनेषु तारकापुष्यनक्षत्रादिषु लिङ्गप्रतीतिरविरुद्धेति भावः। प्रतीतिमात्रेण शास्त्रीयकार्यनिर्वाह इति तात्पर्यम्। Udyota or Pradīpa on Bhāṣya on P. IV. 1.3.

[7] अन्योन्याश्रयं त्वेतत्। अन्योन्यसंश्रयं त्वेतत् भवति। स्त्रीकृतः शब्दः शब्दकृतञ्च स्त्रीत्वम्। तदेतदितरेतराश्रयं भवति। इतरेतराश्रयाणि च न प्रकल्पन्ते। Vār of Bhāṣya on P. IV. 1.3.

in the same thing and that is impossible. The popular conception of लिङ्ग thus becomes inadmissible.

Some people, therefore, believe that लिङ्ग is a 'jāti,' a Universal. This 'jāti' is revealed to us by the sex-signs, but it is something different from the sex-signs. In the popular conception, the sex-signs themselves constituted लिङ्ग. Here लिङ्ग is a Universal revealed by the sex-signs and not the sex-signs themselves.[8] The cognition of different things belonging to different classes, arising from words, has लिङ्ग as one of its elements or constituents. The things may vary, but some लिङ्ग or other persists. An element which persists when other elements vary is just what is called 'jāti' or Universal. लिङ्ग is, therefore, a Universal. Not only that, but each लिङ्ग is a Universal. Femininity, for example, is a Universal because it is a persistent constituent in our cognition of such widely different things as a female elephant and a mare. Words present things (सत्व) and they must present them as possessing one or other of the three 'liṅgas' which are attributes of things.[9] A particular word is capable of manifesting this 'liṅgajāti' or that. The same thing can be presented as having a different 'liṅgajāti' by another word. भाव, सत्ता and सामान्य present more or less the same thing as having different 'liṅgas.'[10] Even words whose fundamental meaning is a particular 'liṅga' itself can present it as characterised

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[8] अर्थव्यक्तिवस्तुशब्दानां तु त्रिलिङ्गानां सर्वभावेष्वव्याहतप्रसरत्वात् त्रिलिङ्गयोगस्तदाकारप्रत्ययान्यथानुपपत्त्यानुमीयते। तत्र च परस्परविरोधिनियतव्यंजनसंबन्धरूपं लिङ्गत्रयं लौकिकं कथं स्यादिति तदवधीरणेन जातिपक्षावलंबनम्। Helarāja on Vāk. III, Liṅga 2.

[9] अयमत्र परमार्थः। इह शब्दाल्लिङ्गोपाधेः प्रत्ययस्य भिन्नजातीयेष्वप्यनुगमस्य दर्शनाच्छब्दप्रमाणकानां शब्दार्थोऽर्थ इति सर्वत्र द्रव्यगुणकर्मसामान्यादावपि लिङ्गजातियोगः कल्प्यते।...शब्दा हि द्रव्यायमाणं वस्त्वाचक्षाणास्तद्धर्मलिङ्गोपाधितयैव तत्र तत्र प्रवर्तन्ते। Hela. on Vāk. III, Liṅga. 5.

[10] भावशब्देन पुंस्त्वोपाधिः सत्तोच्यते। सत्ताशब्देन स्त्रीत्वोपाधिः। सामान्यशब्देन नपुंसकत्वोपाधिः। Hela on Vāk. III, Liṅga. 5.

by another 'liṅga'. The word स्त्री fundamentally means the idea of femininity but the word स्त्रीत्वम् presents it as having the नपुंसकलिङ्ग जाति ।[11]

Patañjali declares quite clearly that there is need for a Vaiyyākaraṇa definition of लिङ्ग which will explain the facts of the Sanskrit language relating to gender : तस्मान्न वैय्याकरणैः शक्यं लौकिकं लिङ्गमास्थातुम् अवश्यं च कश्चित् स्वकृतान्त आस्थेयः । (Bhāṣya on P. IV. 1. 3). And he gives the following Vārttika defining it—

संस्त्यानप्रसवौ लिङ्गमास्थेयौ स्वकृतान्ततः ।[12]

It is in the course of the explanation of this Vārttika that Patañjali sets forth the grammarian's conception of लिङ्ग. The points which are worthy of notice in this conception are—

1. What is called लिङ्ग, is वस्तुधर्म. It is a property of things and objects, of what is talked about and expressed in words. The three genders of words only reveal this property belonging to things. To this extent, the grammarian's conception agrees with the popular one and with that of the Vaiśesikas.

2. But the properties of things which the three genders reveal are not the sex signs, as in the popular conception, but the three conditions of the three qualities or guṇas of which every thing is made according to the Sāṅkhya philosophy. The Sāṅkhyas believe that everything is an evolute of Prakṛti or primordial matter of which the three constituents are सत्व, रजस् and तमस्. These are the three guṇas or qualities. Because everything in the Universe is a development from Prakṛti everything is made up of these three guṇas. Things differ

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[11] स्त्रीत्वविशिष्टस्य द्रव्यस्य स्त्रीशब्देनाभिहितस्य भावप्रत्ययेन प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तं नपुंसकत्वादियोगि स्वभावात् प्रकाश्यते । Helā. on Vāk. Liṅga. 7.

[12] Vārttika on P. IV. 1.3.

from one another due to the predominance of one of the three guṇas. They cannot be perceived, they can only be inferred from their effects. Among their effects are the five things, also called 'guṇas,' namely शब्द, रूप, रस, गन्ध, and स्पर्श which, like their causes, are constantly changing. Everything is a product of these five guṇas and ultimately of the former three guṇas. They are constantly developing, increasing, manifesting or declining, decreasing, disappearing. The former condition or function is called प्रसव and the latter संस्त्यानम् and it is these two functions or conditions of everything in this world which are called पुल्लिङ्ग and स्त्रीलिङ्ग respectively.[13]

While explaining this conception of पुल्लिङ्ग and स्त्रीलिङ्ग, Patañjali has used the terms वर्द्धते 'increases' for प्रसव and अपायेन युज्यते 'decreases' for संस्त्यान.[14] Once he uses प्रवृत्ति 'activity' as the synonym of प्रसव.[15] The meaning of these two words and their implications must have been much discussed in grammatical circles in the old days, because we see a great many words used in explanation of them. A quotation from the संग्रह found in Helārāja runs as follows:

संस्त्यानं संहननं तमोनिवृत्तिरशक्तिरुपरतिः प्रवृत्तिः प्रतिबन्धस्तिरोभावः स्त्रीत्वम्, प्रसवो विष्वग्भावो वृद्धिशक्तिवृ॑त्तिलाभोऽभ्युद्रेकः प्रवृत्तिराविर्भावः इति पुंस्त्वम्। अविवक्षातः साम्यं स्थितिरौत्सुक्यनिवृत्तिरपरार्थत्वमङ्गाङ्गिभावनिवृत्तिः कैवल्यमिति नपुंसकम्।[16]

It is a great pity that we do not possess the संग्रह. Without it, we are not in a position to understand the full

[13] संस्त्यानप्रसवौ लिङ्गमास्थेयौ स्वकृतान्ततः।...संस्त्यानं स्त्री, प्रसवश्च पुमान्। कस्य पुनः संस्त्यानं स्त्री प्रसवश्च पुमान्। गुणानाम्। केषाम्। शब्दस्पर्शरूपरसगन्धानाम्। सर्वाश्च पुनर्मूर्तय एवमात्मिकाः संस्त्यानप्रसवगुणाः शब्दस्पर्शरूपरसगन्धवत्यः। Bhāṣya on P. IV. 1.3.

[14] न हीह कश्चिदपि स्वस्मिन्नात्मनि मुहूर्तमप्यवतिष्ठते वर्द्धते वा यावदनेन वर्द्धितव्यम्, अपायेन वा युज्यते। Bhāṣya on P. IV. 1.3.

[15] प्रवृत्तिश्च पुमान्। Bhāṣya on P. IV. 1-3.

[16] Helā. on Vākyapadīyam, Liṅga. 1-2.

meaning of all the expressions used to bring out the implications of the words संस्त्याद and प्रसव. The occurrence of the word प्रवृत्ति in the explanation of both the words is a little surprising. The word obviously cannot mean the same thing in both cases. Bhartṛhari picks out three out of this long list of words used by the संग्रहकार and declares that they stand for the three liṅgas पुमान्, स्त्री, and नपुंसक. The three words are: आविर्भाव, तिरोभाव and स्थिति.[17] Every thing in the world is in a state of flux like boiling water.[18] Nothing is the same at any two moments of its existence. A new condition comes into being (आविर्भाव) and the former condition disappears (तिरोभाव). It is these two aspects of change which are meant by पुल्लिङ्ग and स्त्रीलिङ्ग.

3. As these two aspects are found in everything, both the 'liṅgas' are found in everything. Even inanimate things possess these two liṅgas, because they are also in a state of flux. According to the Sāṅkhyas, the Self is eternal and without change and yet the two words पुरुषः and चितिः, one masculine and the other feminine refer to it. That is because the Self is the भोक्ता, the Enjoyer, and the attributes of the things enjoyed are ascribed to the Enjoyer. The things enjoyed are in a constant state of flux and the Enjoyer is presented as in a state of flux by these two words. The two aspects of change आविर्भाव and तिरोभाव in other words, पुल्लिङ्ग and स्त्रीलिङ्ग are attributed to him and it is these superimposed attributes which are expressed by the words पुरुषः and चितिः This superimposition may not be true to reality, but as

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[17] आविर्भावस्तिरोभावः स्थितिश्चेत्यनपायिनः ।
धर्मा मूर्तिषु सर्वासु लिङ्गत्वेनानुदर्शिताः ॥

[18] नेह कश्चित् स्वस्मिन्नात्मनि मुहूर्तमप्यवतिष्ठते, वर्द्धते यावदनेन वर्द्धितव्यम्, अपायेन वा युज्यते । Bhāṣya on P. IV 1-3.
क्वथितोदकवच्चैषामनवस्थितवृत्तिता ।
Vākyapadīyam III, Liṅga. 16.

pointed out before, words get their forms on the basis of valid as well as invalid cognitions.

If 'liṅga' means the two aspects of the change of the five qualities which are the constituents of every thing, what about each one of these qualities? The words expressive of each one of them have also gender, which means that the two aspects of change must exist in each one of these qualities, even though they cannot be made up of all the five of them. The truth is that change, in its two aspects, is found in each one of them. Change is the universal law of life.[19] This change is imperceptible to ordinary mortals. It can be seen only by those who are gifted with a superior vision.[20] Others have to understand it from its effects.

4. So far we have been considering the nature of पुल्लिङ्ग and स्त्रीलिङ्ग and we found that according to the śāstra, they stand for आविर्भाव and तिरोभाव, the coming into being of a new condition and the disappearance of an old one and it is these two aspects of change which are expressed by the masculine and feminine gender of words. But some words in Sanskrit are in a third gender, the neuter and we have now to see what attributes of things the neuter gender expresses. Like the other two genders, the neuter also expresses something really belonging to things. Patañjali has contented himself with a very brief reference to this gender. All that he says is: संस्त्यानविवक्षायां स्त्री। प्रसवविवक्षायां पुमान्। उभयोरविवक्षायां नपुंसकम्।[21] When disappearance (संस्त्यानम्) is meant to be expressed,

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[19] शब्दादीनां गुणे गुणे। त्रयः सत्वादिधर्माः। . Vāk. III. Liṅga. 14.
ते च शब्दादयः सत्वरजस्तमोलक्षणगुण-मया इति गुणे गुणे शब्दादौ सत्वादिगुणत्रयधर्मा व्यवस्थिताः। Helā. on above.

[20] पुरुषार्थं हि परिणामिनां गुणानां प्रतिकलमवस्थाविशेषो भावतत्त्वदृगवसेयः सौक्ष्म्यात् स्थूलदृग्भिर्नावधार्यते। Helā. on Vāk. III. Liṅga 15.

[21] Bhāṣya on P. IV. 1.3.

the word is in the feminine gender; when appearance is meant to be expressed, the word is masculine. When neither is meant to be expressed, the word is in the neuter gender. This is rather a negative way of defining neuter and it was left to later grammarians to bring out its positive side. The quotation from the संग्रह given above gives a string of words, some of which seem to have a positive content. Of all the words, it is the word स्थिति which Bhartṛhari chooses to designate this third condition of all things and in two verses,[22] he tries to explain what is meant by it and suggests four ways of looking at it:

1. Development and decay are the law of life to which everything is subject. When there is a stream of development, there is increase at every moment and when the increases of many moments are looked upon as one whole there is what is called स्थिति. Similarly when the decreases of many moments are looked upon as one, there is also स्थिति.[23]

2. Increase and decrease, or development and decay are both changes. Change, then, is the common point in both and this common point is looked upon as स्थिति or neuter.[24]

3. When something disappears something else comes in its place at once. Thus disappearance is never

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[22] प्रवृत्तेरेकरूपत्वं साम्यं वा स्थितिरुच्यते ।
आविर्भावतिरोभावप्रवृत्त्या वावतिष्ठते ॥
गुणा इत्येव बुद्धेर्वा निमित्तत्वं स्थितिर्मता ।
स्थितेश्च सर्वलिङ्गानां सर्वनामत्वमुच्यते ॥ Vāk. III. Liṅga. 17-18.

[23] तत्रोपचयप्रवाहे या वृद्ध्याख्या प्रवृत्तिः तस्या अभेदेनाध्यवसायात् स्थितिर्व्यवस्थाप्यते। एवमपचयप्रवाहे यापायलक्षणा प्रवृत्तिः तस्या भेदमध्यवसाय स्थितिः कल्प्यते। Helā. on above.

[24] प्रतिकलं प्रवाहयोर्भेदे वा प्रवृत्तिरूपसाम्यात् स्थितिः। वृद्धिपरिणामेऽपायपरिणामे च प्रवृत्तिरूपं तुल्यमिति तदेव साम्यं स्थितिः। Helā. on Vāk. III. Liṅga. 17.

final. This non-finality of disappearance is what is called neuter.[25]

4. Finally, neuter is that thing by which we perceive the guṇas as guṇas even when they are constantly changing. Even then, the guṇas enable us to perceive their identity. The cause of this perception of identity is स्थिति or नपुंसक. It may be looked upon as the Universal of which the other two are the viśeṣa.[26] These different interpretations of स्थिति are attempts to understand and explain the very brief statement of the Bhāṣya: उभयेारविवक्षायां नपुंसकम् ।

5. These three states or conditions are present in everything and thus all the three 'liṅgas' are present in everything and the three genders of words are expressive of these conditions. Any particular word expresses only one of these conditions of a thing, even though all the conditions are present in every thing. It is the nature of words to pick out one particular attribute of things from among many and express that. A carpenter, in the course of his work, has to perform various acts such as तक्षण, छेदन etc. and yet he is called तक्षा after one of these acts. All the 'liṅgas' are properties of things, but it is open to a word to pick out one of them and express it through its form. That word is correct only when it has the particular form which expresses that particular gender and this particular form of the word is known to us only from the usage of cultured people gifted with insight (शिष्टाः). The gender of a word means the particular

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[25] कस्याश्चित् कलायास्तिरोधानानन्तरमेव यदा कलान्तराविर्भावः तदा तिरोधानस्यानिष्ठितत्वात् स्थितिरेवावसीयते । तदेवं सततपरिणामिनां गुणानामध्यवसायवशेन स्वभावैक्यं साम्यं तिरोवाभपर्यवसानं वेति प्रकारत्रयेण स्थितिरिह निरूपिता । Helā. on Vāk. III. Liṅga. 17.

[26] इत्थं च गुणाः सामान्यानुगमादन्वयित्प्रत्ययस्य सर्वास्ववस्थासु एते गुणा इत्यस्य हेतवो भवन्तः स्थितिलिङ्गतामासादयन्ति । सामान्यं हि गुणरूपं स्थितिः ॥ Helā. on Vāk. III. Liṅga. 18.

form which it has in order to express a particular one of the three 'liṅgas' found in everything. Pāṇini has declared quite clearly that this form can be known only from the usage of cultured people. It is not the business of grammar to teach it. Śiṣṭas, gifted with insight, can see which gender associated with which word can lead to धर्म or merit and they reveal it to others.[27] Śiṣṭas may see it and reveal it to others, but it is not they who decide what the gender of a word should be. If all the three liṅgas exist in everything, there must be some way of deciding which particular one a word must express. The deciding factor is विवक्षा or the desire to express.[28] It is made clear in the śāstra that it is not the individual speaker's desire which is the deciding factor. It is the विवक्षा of the speech community which is the deciding factor.[29] Only usage can tell us what the विवक्षा of the Speech-Community is and only Śiṣṭas can tell us what correct usage is.

From what has been said above, it is clear that even though 'liṅga' is an attribute really existing in things, we cannot cognise it through direct perception or inference. It is only words which reveal them to us. When we hear the word, we cognise the object as characterised by a particular 'liṅga because of the particular gender of the word. The gender of the word and that alone can reveal the 'liṅga' existing in the thing. Any given word can reveal only one of them, but the other two existing in the

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[27] इह लोकशब्देन शिष्टा विवक्षिताः। तेषां च वस्तुपरमार्थसाक्षात्कारिता लक्षणम्। ते हि निरावरणख्यातयोऽभिधेयेसमवेतं स्त्रीत्वादि लिङ्गमभ्युदये यद् यद् यस्य शब्दस्य साधनतामेति तद् तदेव तस्याचक्षते। अतश्च यल्लिङ्गस्य शब्दस्य धर्मसाधनत्वं शिष्टैरुपलब्धं तस्य तथाभूतस्यैव प्रसिद्धस्य सतः साधुत्वमभ्युपगन्तव्यम्। Helā. on Vāk. III. Liṅg. 21.

[28] स्थितेषु सर्वलिङ्गेषु विवक्षानियमाश्रयः।
कस्यचिच्छब्दसंस्कारे व्यापारः कचिदिष्यते॥ Vāk. III. Liṅg. 19

[29] तथा च प्रायोक्ती विवक्षात्र न लौकिकी स्वेच्छारूपेत्युक्तं भवति।
Helā. on Vāk. III. Liṅg. 21.

same thing may be revealed by other words having other genders.[30] In spite of this śāstraic definition of 'liṅga', it was clear that some masculine words did denote male things, some feminine words female things and some neuter words sex-less things. It was difficult to ignore this fact. That is why Nāgeśa has declared that the worldly conception of 'liṅga' rejected above, can also be made use of for explaining the formation of words.[31]

This Śāstraic conception of लिङ्ग is somewhat mystic. It declares that it can be directly perceived only by the few who are gifted with a mystic vision. Ordinary mortals come to know of 'liṅga' as a property of things only when they see the words which express them. According to this view, the cognition which we have of things even of inanimate things, through words has 'liṅga' as one of its constituents because of the gender of words. This was, however, contested by some who pointed out that while the cognition of the word may have 'liṅga' or gender as one of its constituents, the cognition of the thing is in no way affected by it. कलत्रं and दारा., two words both meaning wife in Sanskrit, arouse in us the cognition of the same object and the cognition in each case, has the same constituents, even though the gender and number of the two words are quite different. The gender of the word has, therefore, nothing to do with the 'liṅga' of things. It is a property or attribute of words and words only, केवलं शब्दधर्मः। Without this attribute, the word would not be correct. When, therefore, the formation of

[30] एताश्चावस्था शब्दगोचरा एवेत्यवसेयम्। Pradīpa on Bhāṣya on P. IV 1-3.

शब्दगोचरा एव। शब्दजन्यप्रतीतिविषया एवेत्यर्थः। यद्यपि वक्ष्यमाणन्यायेन सर्वेषु पदार्थेष्वेता व्याप्तास्तथापि केनचिच्छब्देन कस्यचिदेव प्रत्यायनमित्यपि शब्दगोचरा इत्यनेनोच्यते। उद्योत on above.

[31] तत्र स्तनकेशवतीत्यादिलौकिकलिङ्गासंभवे शास्त्रीयं कार्यं शास्त्रीय उक्त एव। तत्संभवे तु शास्त्रीयमविशिष्टे लौकिके। शब्देन्दुशेखर on the sūtra "स्त्रियाम्" P. IV, 1-3

the word is explained by the grammarian, he must take this gender into consideration. It is an attribute of words which he derives from the words themselves and he makes use of it when he is called upon to explain the formation of words.[32] It does not point to the existence in the object of any thing corresponding to itself. There are, in Sanskrit, the three words वस्तु, व्यक्ति and अर्थः of three different genders, but capable of denoting the thing in general (वस्तुमात्र). This again shows that the gender of words has nothing to do with any attribute of things. It is a mere शब्दसंस्कारः।

It differs, however, from other attributes of words like accent.[33] Accent never appears to us to be an attribute of things. We never think that accent, as an attribute of words, points to the existence in things of something corresponding to it. That is not the case with gender. It makes us believe that things might have an attribute corresponding to it.

This view that gender is only शब्द धर्म is akin to the views held by most modern linguists on 'gender'. For them it is only an attribute of words to-day, whatever may have been its origin. They all seem to admit that it might have begun as an expression of some attribute actually belonging to some things; but when it was extended to all the words in a language, it ceased to have any significance. It became a mere attribute of words. Helārāja says quite plainly that such a view is held only by those who are not capable of understanding the orthodox conception of the three genders, namely, that they are expressive of the three states आविर्भाव, तिरोभाव and स्थिति

[32] शब्दोपजनितोऽर्थात्मा शब्द संस्कार इत्यपि Vāk. III Liṅg. 2. तटस्तटी तटमित्यभिन्नेनापि शब्देनाभिन्नं वस्तु त्रिलिङ्ग प्रत्याय्यत इति शब्द संस्कारमात्रं लिङ्गमाश्रितं कैश्चित्। Helā. on above.

[33] एवमपि च बाह्यत्वेनानवसायान्नोदात्तादि धर्मवच्छब्द धर्मत्वं लिङ्गस्य, किन्तु स्त्रियां पुंसि नपुंसक इति शब्दान्वाख्याननिमित्तभावदर्शनाच्छब्दसंस्कारत्वमस्य। Helā. on above.

through which everything passes. To hold the view that gender is only शब्दसंस्कार is to betray one's deficiency in intellectual and spiritual development. It is only the second best.[34]

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[34] कैश्चिदिति वचनाद् ये गुणावस्थारूपं लिङ्ग वस्तूनां विवेकेन परिज्ञातुमशक्तास्तेषामिदं दर्शनमिति प्रतिपादयति। सति तु विवेककौशले यथाप्रविभक्तमेव लिङ्गन्याय्यमिति ध्वनयति। Helā. on Vāk. III. Liṅg. 30.

A BUDDHIST DHĀRAṆĪ WORSHIPPED BY THE JAINS

BY

BANARSI DAS JAIN, M.A., PH.D.,
Jain Vidya Bhawan, Lahore.

In the MSS Bhaṇḍārs of the Śvetāmbara Jains numerous copies of a Buddhist Dhāraṇī, the *Vasudhārā-dhāraṇī* are found. The existence of this dhāraṇī among the Jains was first brought to the notice of scholars by the compiler of the *Jaina-Granthāvalī* (Bombay, 1909) where in a footnote on p. 367 he remarks that the dhāraṇī appears to be the work of a Buddhist ācārya. Even in the Punjab an examination of five bhaṇḍārs only has brought to light nine copies of this dhāraṇī.[1]

It is no wonder to come across a Buddhist work in a Jain Bhaṇḍār, for both Jainism and Buddhism arose almost contemporaneously in one and the same region, and for centuries flourished together side by side. Their doctrines, too, bear a close resemblance, and their followers are known to have frequently met one another. Under these circumstances it is not strange that a Buddhist work that was long supposed to have been lost was carefully preserved in some Jain Bhaṇḍār from where it makes a sudden appearance.[2] Such works usually deal with philosophy and have been treated as foreign and never claimed as their own by the Jains. But the wonder is how

[1] Banarsi Das Jain: *A Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Panjab Jain Bhandars*, Part I, Lahore, 1939. Entries Nos. 221—4, 2305—9. The title appears as आर्यवसुधारा [धारणी] or आर्यवसुधारण. Of these, four copies are dated, the earliest date being Saṃ. 1801.

[2] G. K. Nariman: *Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism*, Bombay, 1920, p. x.

a work that bears a clear stamp of Buddhism came to be worshipped by the Jains. On this point something will be said later on.

A dhāraṇī is a magical formula, somewhat akin to a *mantra*, especially a tantric one containing mystical syllables, with this difference that a mantra is more or less connected with worship whereas a dhāraṇī is rather for a personal use, a spell to ward off evil and bring good luck. A dhāraṇī is so called because it possesses superhuman power, and possibly like a talisman it was written down and borne on the body. A mantra is shorter than a dhāraṇī. The latter has a multitude of syllables having no sense. Again the term mantra is common to Brahmanism and Jainism also whereas the term dhāraṇī is peculiar to the Budddhists.

The dhāraṇīs constitute an extensive and important branch of the Mahāyānist literature of Buddhism, and their composition covers a wide range of time. Even the Buddha himself was visited by a host of spirits who wanted to impart him a formula to keep his disciples safe from harm. As to the relative age of the dhāraṇīs, some of them are very old. The Chinese pilgrim Hsüan Chuang states that the sect of the Mahāsāṅghikas which in his opinion arose in connection with the first council, compiled a piṭaka of dhāraṇīs.

The practice of magic is so old in India that numerous Vedic hymns, especially those of the Atharva Veda were used as magic formulae for bringing about desired end. The influence of magic had a very powerful hold on the mind of the people. Even Jainism and Buddhism, though predominantly moral and ethical systems, had resort to it. In the Pali literature there are several *suttas* which came to be used as *parittās*, *i.e.*, a guard against evil spirits. The Mahāyāna Sect, too, adopted some of its sūtras to serve as dhāraṇī's, *e.g.*, *Saddharma-*

puṇḍarīka, Sūtra 21, Laṅkavatāra Sūtra 9, *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa*, Sūtra 9, etc.

In form a dhāraṇī consists of three parts. First there is an introduction stating how and to whom a particular dhāraṇī was revealed. Next comes the dhāraṇī proper, i.e., the formulae invoking its deities followed by mystical syllables with long strings of rhyming epithets some of which defy interpretation. Lastly there is the *Māhātmya* of the dhāraṇī which describes the benefits resulting from its repetition and worship. The language of the dhāraṇīs is Sanskrit showing clear influence of Pali.

The Vasudhārā dhāraṇī was imparted by the Buddha to the householder, Sucandra who had been born in a very wealthy family, but through ill luck, lost his riches in the later years of his life. Having a large family and numerous dependents to support, he deeply felt the grip of poverty. So much so that he found it hard to procure even daily bread for all his children and others. But in spite of all this, he remained faithful and firm in the doctrines of the Buddha.

Once he approached the Buddha, and relating his own story, enquired from him if there was any remedy by which he (i.e. Sucandra) could regain his lost wealth. Thereupon the Buddha revealed to Sucandra the Vasudhārādhāraṇī. Sucandra worshipped it in the right way. Pleased with this worship the gods came down and entering Sucandra's house rained there showers of wealth and jewels. Some time afterwards the Buddha sent his disciple Ānanda to Sucandra's house. When Ānanda came there he was astonished to find Sucandra become wealthy as before.[3]

To visualise the circumstances that led to the adoption of this dhāraṇī by the Jains it is useful to cast a cursory

[3] Text of the dhāraṇī was published in the *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore; February 1940, pp. 35—40.

glance over the history of the Jain church. Even in the life-time of its founder the church showed signs of schism. During the long period after him it underwent further disintegration and lost the central authority, getting divided into numerous sects and sub-sects. The heads of some of these sub-sects became so much attached to particular places that ignoring the vow of constant wandering they settled themselves in one place. They came to be called *caityavāsin* (living in a *caitya* or temple). Gradually they came to possess wealth and hold property and developed into what are called *yatis* whose status in many respects is similar to that of the *mahants* of Hindu temples.

These *yatis* had their residence in *upāśrayas* to which was attached a temple and a small or large landed property. They took to the practice of astrology, medicine and black arts, which were forbidden things for a true monk. Indeed they cared more for money than for religion. Some of them went so far as to advise their clients even to make offerings of meat to evil spirits.

Probably one of these *yatis* was responsible for the introduction of the Vasudhārādhāraṇī among the Jains. Somehow or other the yati must have come across a copy of the dhāraṇī. Whether he himself fetched it from Nepal, the homeland of dhāraṇīs in India, or a Lama brought it to him cannot be determined. However among the Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts brought by Hodgson from Nepal, there is a copy of the Sūryaprajñapti with Malayagiri's commentary. This is perhaps the only Jain MS so far found in Nepal. The existence of this MS in Nepal and that of the Vasudhārādhāraṇī among the Jains possibly points to a meeting between a Jain Yati and a Buddhist Lama, resulting in the exchange of books.

Moreover the Jains are proverbially a wealthy community. The title of the dhāraṇī—Vasudhārā—which

literally means a "shower of wealth" would have naturally appealed to their mind. In the sacred scriptures of the Jains there are copious references to the gods showering wealth in the houses of the pious people. The style and wording of the dhāraṇī, though distinctly Buddhistic, have, yet, a good deal in common with the Jain style and phraseology. All these facts must have greatly facilitated the adoption of the dhāraṇī by the Jains.

The worship of the dhāraṇī has remained confined to the Śvetāmbara Jains of Rajputana where the yatis are predominant. It is performed on the night of the Diwali when Lakshmī is supposed to pay visits to the houses of needy householders. To assure her a free access a night vigil is observed and the worship of dhāraṇī is performed as a means of propitiating her. Besides worship of the manuscript of the dhāraṇī, its text is recited by the householder or by a yati for him. During the time of recitation a continuous stream of milk diluted with water is allowed to fall from a vessel having a small hole in the bottom on a statue of Lakshmī, Jina or some other deity. The whole night is passed in reciting the namas-kāra mantra and ṣimilar stotras.

That at one time the dhāraṇī was held in great respect is shown by its manuscripts, some of which are artistically copied with gold and silver ink. Now however, as a general trend of the times and due to spread of education among Śrāvakas the worship of the dhāraṇī is falling out of vogue.

TRACES OF AN OLD METRICAL PRAKRIT GRAMMAR

BY

HIRA LAL JAIN, M.A.

All the old Prakrit grammars that have become available upto the present, are found composed in Sanskrit in the Sūtra style of prose. Their commentaries are also in Sanskrit prose, and the only Prakrit verses or parts of such verses that are found in them are quotations from earlier writers, and are meant to illustrate the rules. Trivikrama's Sūtras, no doubt, when read continuously, are metrical in form; and in the *Prākṛta Mañjarī* we find an amplification of Vararucī's Sūtras, in verses. But these are all in Sanskrit and not in Prakrit.

For the last few years, I have been editing the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* of Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali who wrote the Sūtras on Jaina Philosophy about two thousand years back. On these Sūtras, we have a very thorough and exhaustive commentary called *Dhavalā* written by Vīrasena and completed in 816 A.D. under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The extent of this commentary is about seventy thousand ślokas. By the same author we have another commentary called *Jayadhavalā* on the Kasāya Pāhuḍa Sūtras of Guṇadharācārya, and the Cuṇṇi Sūtras of Yativṛṣabha. Of this work, however, only the first part equal to twenty thousand ślokas was written by Vīrasena, while the last portion, equal to forty thousand ślokas, was added by his able disciple Jinasena. These works are mostly in Prakrit prose with a sprinkling of Sanskrit here and there by the *Maṇi-pravāla-nyāya*, as the author himself declares. Here, thus, we have the largest contributions to Prakrit literature by any single individuals. In the body of the

prose of these works, we find embedded a number of Prakrit verses quoted by the commentators from more ancient works. Thus, we find in these commentaries three strata of Prakrit writings, namely, (1) the old Sūtras of Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali on the one hand, and of Guṇadhara and Yativṛṣabha on the other, composed about the beginning of the Christian Era;

(2) the verses quoted by the commentators, and, thus, belonging to a period earlier than the 9th century; and,

(3) the commentaries of Vīrasena and Jinasena belonging to the 9th century.

In all these three strata of literary composition, we find numerous points of interest and importance to the student of the Prakrit languages, and, when the whole work is properly edited and published, many of our ideas about the phonetics, morphology and syntax of the languages will have to be revised. Amongst all the known Prakrit grammarians, it is only Trivikrama who claims to have made use of the writings of Vīrasena and Jinasena in his Prakrit Grammar.[1] But it is evident that even if he had any direct access to the works mentioned above, he could utilize them to a very limited extent only. The purpose of the present paper, however, is only to draw attention to a few mentions in these works which throw light upon the existence of a Prakrit Grammar in Prakrit verse at the time of the commentators.

The first place that interests us in this connection is where the commentator explains the fourth Sūtra of *Satprarūpaṇā* of Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama which runs as follows :—

गइ इंदिए काए जोगे वेदे कसाए णाणे संजमे दंसणे लेस्सा भविय सम्मत्त सण्णि आहारए चेदि।

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[1] श्री वीरसेन-जिनसेनार्यादिवचःपयोधिपूरात्कतिचित्।
प्राकृतपदरत्नानि प्राकृतकृतिसुकृतिषणाय चिनोति ॥

Commenting upon the linguistic construction of this Sūtra, Vīrasena says:—

यत्र च गत्यादौ विभक्ति नं श्रूयते तत्रापि
'आई-मज्झंतवण्ण-सरलोवो', इति लुप्ता विभक्तिरित्यभ्यूह्यम्।

i.e. Wherever in words like *gati* and others (*lessā* etc.) in the Sūtra, the case-termination is not audible, there also it should be inferred that the case-termination is understood, in accordance with the rule, namely, "An initial, medial, or final consonant or vowel may be dropped." Presumably, the rule आई-मज्झंत वण्णसरलोवो is a quotation, and probably, it is the second foot of a Prakrit verse as it contains eighteen mātrās metrically balanced.

The next spot that catches our attention is where the commentator explains the Sixth Sūtra *Dravyapramāṇānugama* in which the word अंतोमुहुत्त occurs एदेहि पलिदोवम-मवहिरिज्जदि अंतोमुहुत्तेण।

Explaining the formation of the word अंतोमुहुत्त, the commentator says—

मुहूर्तस्यान्तः अन्तर्मुहूर्तः। कुतः पूर्वनिपातः? राजदन्तादित्वात्। कुत ओत्वम्? ए, एछच्च समाणा' इत्येतस्मात्।

Here, the commentator justifies the presence of ओ in अंतोमुहुत्त by quoting another rule which, again, appears to be the first or third quarter of a Prakrit verse, as it consists of twelve metrically balanced mātrās. The same quotation recurs in the Jayadhavalā also where the commentator explains the substitution of अ in place of इ in the term हदहद्समुप्पत्तियाणि equivalent to Sanskrit हतहतिसमुत्पत्तिकानि। He says:—हतस्य हतिः हतहतिः, ततः समुत्पत्तिर्येषां तानि हतहति समुत्पत्तिकानि। 'एए छच्च समाणा' इति इकारस्य अकारः।

Thus, observing the application of the rule at the two places we might be able to say that the rule justifies the substitution of one vowel in place of another. But the meaning of the quoted formula is not quite clear, because, obviously, it is only a portion of a fuller text, and, by quoting only the beginning of the rule the commentator

implies that it was well known to the Prakrit students of his time.

At another place in the Jayadhavalā, while justifying the form अधाणिसेय in place of जहाणिसेय (SK. यथानिषेक) the commentator quotes yet another rule as follows :—

कधं जहाणिसेयस्स अधाणिसेयववएसो त्ति ण पच्चवट्ठेयं 'वच्चंति क-ग-त-द-य-वा लोवं अत्थसरा' इदि यकारस्स लोवं काऊण णिद्देसादो।

In this quotation, the first part, namely, वच्चंति कगतदयवा, is a metrical foot, and the rule वच्चंति कगतदयवा लोवं clearly means that the letters क, ग, etc., are dropped. But the meaning of the last word अत्थसरा is not clear. After due consideration of the rule and its application in the context, it appears to me that there is an omission and a mistake in the quotation. The full line may have been something like this :— वच्चंति क-ग-त-द-य-वा लोवं तिट्ठंति अट्ठ सरा। *i.e.*, "The consonants क, ग, etc., are dropped, but their constituent vowels which may be any of the eight vowels (अ, आ, इ, ई, उ, ऊ, ए, ओ) are retained." If this conjecture be right, then we have here a second line of a Prakrit verse quoted.

Ever since I came across some of these fragmentary quotations in the Dhavalā, one of which I could not understand at all, I was seeking hard for fuller light on the subject, till at last, very recently, I discovered a few more complete quotations of a similar nature in the Jayadhavalā. The point under discussion is the derivation of the word प्राभृत, and its Prakrit equivalent पाहुड which forms part of the name of the Sūtra text *Kasāya Pāhuḍa*. Vīrasena first explains the Sanskrit word प्राभृत as follows :—

संपहि णिरुत्ती उच्चदे। प्रकृष्टेन तीर्थंकरेण आभृतं प्रस्थापितं इति प्राभृतम्। प्रकृष्टैराचार्यैर्विद्यावित्तवद्भिराभृतं धारितं व्याख्यातमानीतमिति वा प्राभृतम्। अनेकार्थत्वाद्धातूनां नैतेष्वर्थेष्वस्य धातोर्वृत्तिर्विरुद्धा। उपसर्गसंपातेन वा अस्यानेकार्थता। अत्रोपयोगी श्लोकः—कश्चिद्द्रव्याति धोरर्थः कश्चित्तमनुवर्तते। तमेवविशिनष्टा (ष्टय)न्यो गीनांच त्रिविधा गतः (गतिः)॥

Having thus explained the derivation of the Sanskrit word Prābhṛta, the commentator proceeds on to explain the formation of its Prakrit equivalent Pāhuḍa as follows :—

संपहि जइवसहाइरियो णिरुत्तिसुत्तं भणइ—'पाहुडेत्ति का णिरुत्ती ? जम्हा पदेहि पुदं (फुडं) तम्हा पाहुडं'। पदाणि त्ति भणिदे मज्झिमत्थपदाणं गहणं कायव्वं। एदेहि पदेहि पुदं (फुडं) वत्तं सुगममिदि पाहुडं।

'कीरइ पयाण काण वि आई-मज्झंतवण्णसरलोवो' ॥१॥

त्ति दकारस्स लोवो कायव्वो।

'एए छच्च समाणा दोण्णि अ संज्झक्खरा सरा अट्ठ।

अण्णोण्णस्सविरोहा उवेंति सव्वे समाएसं' ॥२॥

ति दीहो पयारो कायव्वो।

'दीसंति दोण्णि वण्णा संजुत्ता अह व तिण्णि चत्तारि।

ताणं दुव्वल-लोवं काऊण कमो पज्ज (जु) त्तव्वो' ॥३॥

एदीए गाहाए सयार लोओ कायव्वो।

'वग्गे वग्गे आई अवट्ठिया दोण्णि जे वण्णा।

ते णेयय णिय वग्गे तइअत्तणयं उवणमंति' ॥४॥

एदीए गाहाए पयारस्स (फयारस्य) भयारो, उयारस्स वयारो (टयारस्स डयारो) कायव्वो।५।

'ख-फ-थ-व (भ)-साउण हत्तं' (५) एदीए गाहाए भयारस्स हॅयारे कए पाहुड ति सिद्धं।

The available text is corrupt at various places, and I have suggested my emendations in brackets. The following points emerge more or less clearly from the passage :—

Yativṛsabha is said to have composed one *Cūrṇi Sūtra* on the etymology of the word Pāhuḍa which he explains as—पदेहि पुदं (फुडं) (पदैः स्फुटं व्यक्तं, सुगमम्) पदेहि पुदं = पद + स्फुट *i.e.*, a text constituted by expressive words. The phonetic changes involved in the formation of the word पाहुड from पद + स्फुट are explained in detail by Vīrasena as follows :—

Firstly, the medial द् is dropped by the rule contained in half verse कीरपयाण etc., which means "In the case of some words the initial, medial or final consonant

or vowel is dropped." This rule appears to be a further generalisation of the rule quoted above, namely, वच्चंतिकगतद etc., and is a complete text of what was quoted at the fourth Sūtra of Satprarūpaṇā.

Secondly, the constituent vowel of प is lengthened by the rule contained in the verse एए छच्च समाणा etc., which means "These six simple vowels (i.e., अ, इ, and उ, short and long), and the two conjunct vowels (i.e. ए and ओ), in all, the eight vowels, come in place of one another without any restraint." Thus, the mystery of the fragmentary quotation एए छच्च समाणा on अंतोमुहुत्त solved.

Thirdly, the initial letter of the conjunct is dropped, in accordance with the rule contained in the verse दीसंति दोण्णि वण्णा etc., which means "When there are seen two letters in close proximity, or three, or four, the weak amongst them should be dropped, and the process should be continued."

Fourthly, the medial फ is changed into भ and the final ट is changed into ड by the rule contained in the verse वग्गे वग्गे आई etc., which may be translated as follows :—"In every class of letters the two consonants that stand at the beginning, get changed variously (णेयम = नैकक्कं = बहुलम् ?) into the third letter of its own class."

Lastly, the commentator completes his etymological disquisition by changing the भ into ह in accordance with what the author calls a verse (gāthā), but of which only a quarter is quoted ख-फ-ध-भ-साउण हत्तं which means "The letters ख, फ, ध, भ स are changed into ह."

This whole process of mutation involved in the formation of the word पाहुड may be summarised as follows :—

पदेहि पुदं = पद + स्फुट

(i) = प + अ + स्फुट by कीरइ पयाण etc.

(ii) = पा + स्फुट by एए छच्च समाणा etc.

(iii) = पा + फुट by दीसंति दोण्णि वण्णा etc.

(iv) = पा + भुड by वग्गे वग्गे आई etc.
(v) = पा हु ड by खफधभसाउण हृत्तं

Those of us who are familiar with the derivation of the Sanskrit word *Prābhṛta* from the root भृ with the prepositions प्र and आ and the termination क्त in the sense of प्रकर्षेण आभ्रियते इति, and are used to derive from it the Prakrit word *Pāhuḍa* by the application of the well-known rules of Prakrit grammar, namely, सर्वत्र लवराम् (Var. III, ३); खघथधभाम् (Hem., I, 184); उद् ऋत्वादौ (Hem. I, 131); and प्रत्यादौड़ (Hem. I, 206), are sure to find these explanations and derivations of the same word in two very different ways interesting and fresh indeed. But, what particularly concerns us here is that we have before us in all six different rules of Prakrit Grammar. Three of these are contained in complete Prakrit verses, two consist of half a verse each, and another is a quarter verse which is, nevertheless, called a verse (gāthā) by the author quoting it as an authority. It is quite clear from these mentions that the commentators Vīrasena and Jinasena, while writing their commentaries Dhavalā and Jayadhavalā during the early part of the 9th century, had before them a Prakrit Grammar which was written in Prakrit verses. This work appears to have been regarded as authoritative and quite popular amongst the students of Prakrit, so that even a brief or abbreviated indication of its rules was sometimes considered enough.

Vīrasena and Jinasena are not the only ancient writers who are found to have made use of a metrical Prakrit Grammar. *Haribhadra* (ab. 8th century) in his commentary on *Daśavaikālika Sūtra*, while discussing about a case termination, remarks प्राकृतशैल्या चतुर्थ्यर्थे षष्ठी, and then quotes the following rule: छट्ठीविभत्तीए भण्णइ चउत्थी. This same rule we find quoted more fully by *Malayagiri*, a contemporary of Hemacandra (12th century), in his commentary on *Nandisūtra* as follows :—

सूत्रे षष्ठी प्राकृतलक्षणात् चतुर्थ्यर्थे वेदितव्या। उक्तं च—

बहुवयणेण दुवयणं छट्ठी विभत्तीए भण्णइ चउत्थी।

जह हत्था तह पाया नमोत्थु देवाहिदेवाणं॥

In another context he quotes as follows :—

मतुवत्थम्मि मुणिज्जह आलं इल्लं मणं तह य।

These rules[2] composed in Prakrit metre may also be presumed to have been quoted from the same work as above, which thus appears to have been popular with Prakrit writers at least from the 8th to the 12th century A.D. Let us hope that this very interesting and valuable old work on Prakrit Grammar may still be in existence, awaiting the eye and the hand of some lucky explorer

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[2] See Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research **Institute:** "Subhacandra and his Prakrit Grammar" by **A. N. Upadhye.**

PURĀṆIC COSMOGONY.

(Its Proto-Indian Origin and Development)

BY

A. P. KARMARKAR, M.A., LL. B.

The problem of Purāṇic cosmogony is of an absorbing interest. The Purāṇas, being the carriers of tradition from far ancient times, naturally contain various theories of creation whose origin can be traced to the Proto-Dravidian period. They inculcate various kinds of theories, and one would feel bewildered to find that they have assumed any kind of shape at the hands of the Purāṇic authors. Moreover, as the Purāṇas have been handled by the followers of different sects the cosmogonic theories also have been stamped by these sectarian influences. Once, it is said that the un-manifest *(avyakta)* happens to be the Supreme Being; on another occasion, it is Brahmā; on the third it is Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa, the lord of the waters; and finally it is Śiva, who is described to have created the universe. Added to it, the Purāṇas generally give a long list of the various beings created :—The seven or nine Brahmāṇas and their progeny, (which includes the Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, and Gandharvas also); the various worlds (Lokas) etc. It is proposed to deal here with the problem of the various theories propounded in the Purāṇic writings.

The Various Theories

The various theories of creation enunciated in the Purāṇas may be enumerated as follows:

(1) That the Lord is the Supreme Being of the universe, the waters either preeeding Him or coeval with Him;

(2) That the whole world including Brahmā, or Brahmā and others are produced out of the primeval egg;

(3) That the whole world is created at the instance of the Duality of Sex;

and finally,

(4) that one of the Gods Brahmā, or Viṣṇu, or Śiva is the main creator of the universe.

We shall summarize them briefly.

(1) There are many stories related in which the Supreme Being himself creates the world or that the waters precede immediately before he is created.

The Brahma Purāṇa[1] describes that God created the world as follows:

'He first created the waters and then released his semen into the waters which are called as Nārā; and that they are the sons of Nara. Therefore he is called as **Nārāyaṇa**. (Further), the semen grew itself into a golden egg from which Brahmā was born of his own accord on account of which he is called as Svayaṁbhū. Brahmā divided the egg into two halves, which acted as heaven and earth'.[2] The Brahmāṇḍa narrates that Brahmā, known as Nārāyaṇa, slept on the surface of the ocean.[3] The Vāmana describes, that, when all the movable and immovable things were destroyed, it was all a terrible state (of affairs), with the ocean alone (existing). Further there was a golden egg, which possessed the capacity to create the beings. Brahmā was born out of it, and he created this world out of the three qualities (Sattva,

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[1] *Brahma Purāṇa, Pūrva-bhāga*, Pra. Pa. 1, 38 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Brahmāṇḍa P.*, Prathama-pāda, 1, Adh. 4. It says: *Narāṇām ayanam yasmāt tena Nārāyaṇah smṛtaḥ* /

Rajas, and Tamas).[4] The Viṣṇudharmottara relates that Viṣṇu created the waters, and that the creation of the egg and Brahmā took place afterwards.[5] The Agni P. details that, the waters were created first; that Nārāyaṇa was lying on the (surface of) waters; and that Brahmā was born afterwards and created the whole world.[6] The Liṅga relates that, as Brahmā slept on the lone ocean in the night-time; when all the movables and immovables were destroyed, he is called as Nārāyaṇa.[7] The Mārkaṇḍeya details, that Brahmā is of four kinds on account of his being Saguṇa and Nirguṇa. The first three stages comprise the three Guṇas. The last stage consists of the lying of the serpent amidst waters.[8]

(2) *Egg Theory.* We have already given some examples, according to which the egg is always produced after the creation of waters. But some of the Purāṇas describe the production of the egg rather independently. The Padma narrates that Viṣṇu was born from the indescribable and then the production and creation of the egg and Brahmā respectively took place.[9]

(3) *Duality of Sex.* Some of the Purāṇas narrate the version of the creation of the world from the duality of sex, i.e., from the union of the male and the female principles. The Brahmāṇḍa describes that originally there were only Puruṣa and Prakṛti; and with the contact of Prakṛti, Brahmā became threefold.[10] The Bhāgavata states, that God Viṣṇu having entered into his own Māyā,

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Here Brahmā divides himself into three parts.

[4] *Vāmana P.*, Adh. 43, 17 ff.

[5] *Viṣṇudharmōttara P.*, *Prathama Kh.* Adh. 2.

[6] *Agni P.*, 17. 7.

[7] *Liṅga P.*, *Pūrva-bhāga*, 4, 58.

[8] *Mārkaṇḍeya*, 4, 50.

[9] *Padma, 5 Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa.*

[10] *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Madhyama-kh.*, Adh. 31.

became the creator, preserver, and destroyer of the universe. The Brahmāṇḍa (Pūrva-bhāga) describes that Brahmā divided himself into two and then created the world.[11] With the one half he became the male (Puruṣa) and from the other, the female Śatarūpā was born.[12] The Śiva P. narrates an account wherein Śiva says, 'You two, Brahmā and Viṣṇu, were born from my Prakṛti—from my right and left sides.[13] The Liṅga gives an interesting account: Māyā says, that 'the seed arising from the Liṅga was (thrown) into my Yonī, and an egg was produced out of it. And it was placed or situated into the waters for a thousand years. It was divided through the force of the wind into two halves. Brahmā and the whole world were created out of it.'[14]

(4) *Personalistic Theory*. The Purāṇas have forwarded various Personalistic theories of creation. In them the whole creation is due to a single person or personality and that person is generally Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra or Śiva. The Brahma-vaivarta states that Brahmā created the world.[15] The Varāha describes that Prajāpati was born from the figure of the right hand, and that he created the world.[16] The Padma P. states that Viṣṇu is the first of the three (*Tri-prathamam*).[17] The Garuḍa P. describes that Viṣṇu becomes all the three, *i.e.*, Brahmā, Rudra and Hari.[18] The Bhaviṣya states that, when everywhere there had pervaded darkness, then only Rudra

[11] *Bhāgavata P.*, 4, 7, 50 ff.

[12] *Brahmāṇḍa, Pūrva-bhāga,* Adh. 9.

[13] *Śiva P. Rudrasaṁhitā,* 3, Khaṇḍa 1 Adh. 99, 16 ff.

[14] *Liṅga, Pūrvārdha,* Adh. 38.

[15] *Brahmavaivarta, Brahmakhaṇḍa,* Adh. 7 ff.

[16] *Varāha P.*, 2, 46 ff.

[17] *Padma*, 5, Adh. 14, 130.

[18] *Garuḍa, Prathamāṅśa,* Adh. 4.

created mind, Ahaṅkāra, the Mahābhūtas, eight Prakṛtis, sixteen Vikāras, and then Viṣṇu and Brahmā.[19] The Harivaṁśa narrates that, Nārāyaṇa created Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Suras, Nāgas, Gandharvas, Rākṣasas, who were all located in the egg.[20] The Mārkaṇḍeya states that Brahmā created the whole world, the nine Brahmāṇas etc.[21]

We have not, however, given all the other details of these theories.

Earlier Accounts

If we now survey all the older accounts of creation, we find that the Purāṇic theories exist there in one form or the other. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,[22] the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad,[23] the Manusmṛti and other texts describe that waters alone existed first. The theory of the golden egg has become popular since the time of the Puruṣasūkta[24] (e.g. Golden Embryo instead of the golden egg); and it has been adopted by the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[25] (i.e., after the waters were created), the Chāndogya,[26] etc. The story of the creation out of the duality of sex is related in the Praśna[27] (where it is mentioned that Rayi and Prāṇa were first created), the Taittirīya,[28] in the Sāṅkhya-system, and some other later works. The personalistic theory of creation is narrated in the early Vedic, Brāhmaṇic and other literature. The

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[19] *Bhaviṣya*, cf. Supra.
[20] *Harivaṁśa*, p. 3, 7 ff.
[21] *Mārkaṇḍeya*, Adh. 45 ff.
[22] *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VI. 1. 1.
[23] *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, V. 5. 1.
[24] *Ṛgveda*, X. 90.
[25] *Śatapatha Brā.*, *op. cit.*
[26] *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, III. 15. 1.
[27] *Praśna Up.*, I. 3. 13.
[28] *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, II. 6.

Book XV of the Atharvaveda describes that the Ēkavrātya or God Mahādēva was the Supreme Being of the universe. The Vrātya is evidently a Dravidian religious mendicant. The Śvetāśvatara gives a succinct account of creation by saying that Śiva is the Supreme Being of the universe. But where can we really find the source of inspiration for all these theories?

The Proto-Dravidian Period

The marvellous representations and the inscriptions obtaining on the proto-Indian sites have provided us with sufficient data in regard to the early philosophical notions of the proto-Dravidians. We wish to deal with some of the most important aspects of the problem here.

The Three-faced figure of Siva

On some of the seals discovered at Mohenjo Daro and other sites there is a unique representation of the three-faced figure of Āṇ-Śiva (Āṇ, as designated by Father Heras), which must be evidently a proto-type of the historic Mahēśamūrti. We know for certain that Āṇ-Śiva was considered as the Supreme Being of the universe by the proto-Dravidians. Naturally this must have led the artists to represent the three-faced figure of their God representing His three-fold cosmogonic functions, namely, as the Creator, Preserver and Destroyer of the universe.

Sir John Marshall has rightly pointed out that 'of the three-faced Śiva—that is, Śiva without Brahmā and Viṣṇu—there is a fine example among the ruined temples of Dēvāṅgaṇa near Mount Ābu'.[29] Some of the Kushano-Sasanian Coins also contain the representation of the

[29] Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and The Indus Civilization*, p. 53. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Progress Report of the A.S.W.I.*, 1906-7, p. 30—Prof. Bhandarkar specifically says that this is an image of Siva, not of the Triad, but he does not make his reasons clear. Other examples are illustrated in T. A. Gopinatha Rao's *Elements*

three faced figure of Śiva.[30] But regarding the meaning conveyed by the image in the Mohenjo Daro times, he says "Indeed, the question presents itself whether the three-faced deity on our Mohenjo Daro seal is not a syncretic form of three deities rolled into one. I do not mean by this that the philosophic idea of a Triad associated with the doctrine of the absolute had taken shape at this early period, but simply that the cult of this particular god—call him Śiva or by whatever name we like—had been amalgamated with other cults, and that the fact was signified by giving him three faces instead of one. It is more likely, however, that in the first instance the god was provided with a plurality of faces in token of his all-seeing nature, that these images afterwards suggested the Trimūrti of Śiva, Brahmā, and Viṣṇu; and that the latter in their turn subsequently inspired such images as those referred to above".[31] Recently Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar also maintained such a view.[32]

But looking to the various representations of Āṇ and to what is contained in the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions, we find that the Mohenjo Darians had their own deity, which formed at once the Supreme Being of the universe, and performing the three functions of the creator, preserver and destroyer of the universe. The Mohenjo Daro re-

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of Hindu Iconography, notably one at Melcheri, near Kāvēri Joskkam in the N. Arcot Dist., another near Gokak falls in the Belgaum Dist., and a third at Chitorgarh in Udaipur State (cf. pp. 380—6 and Pls. CXVI, CXIV, I, and CXVIII). Mr. Gopinatha Rao also takes the famous three-headed sculpture in the Elephanta Cave to be a representation of Mahēśamūrti and not the Trimūrti, as commonly supposed (*Ibid.*, p. 382). For another example cf. in a temple at Jagatmukh, 8 miles north of Nagar in Kullu, see A.S.R. 1926-7, p. 282.

30 Herzfeld, *Kushano-Sasanian Coins, Memoirs of Arch. Sur. of Ind.*, I no. 38.

31 Marshall, *op. cit.*, I, p. 53.

32 D. R. Bhandarkar, *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture*, p. 42.

presentations indicate that the religious ideas had attained a definite stage, so that they could form a basis for future mythology. In fact the proto-Dravidians had already proceeded from the abstract to the concrete, in so far as they had their own images of Gods (representing their various functionings), temples, and a cult of their own. Thus, there is every possibility of the above representations indicating the exact nature of the three cosmogonic functions of God—a fact which is conveyed by the later idea of the Hindu Trinity consisting of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. Best of all, the Kushano-Sasanian coins also contain the representations of the three-faced figure of Śiva standing by the side of Nandī.[33]

The tradition is maintained in other archaeological centres also. Some gold coins of Huvishka show the three-faced and four-armed Śiva, having water-vessel, thunderbolt, trident, and club from the lower right upwards.[34] Another instance of the three-faced figure of Śiva comes from Charsada. The deity is three-headed, three-eyed and six-armed, and stands before the bull (Nandī), holding the Ḍamaru, Triśūla and Kamaṇḍalu. This type is very close to that of Vāsudeva's coins (fig. 126).[35] There is also a three-headed figure, probably Śiva, in the Brahmanical fragments found at Mathura. The representation of the Mahēśamūrti at Elephanta seems to be the final reminiscence of this early idea,—after which we mainly find the three-faced figures representing either the Hindu Trinity or Dattātrēya.

All this data clearly proves beyond doubt that the early Mohenjo Darians had a clear-cut notion regarding a

[33] Herzfeld, *Kushano-Sasanian Coins,* Memoirs of Arch. Sur. of India, no. 38.

[34] Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography,* p. 137.

[35] Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art,* p. 55.

monotheistic god, who could act at once as the Creator, Preserver and Destroyer of the universe.

Ṛgvedic evidence.

For such a conclusion, we also get a wonderful corroboration from one of the passages of the Ṛgveda. The Vedic bard is beseeching Rudra: "Thou, Lord (Indra), humbled and subjugated the loud-shouting Dāsa, with six eyes and three-heads."[36] As we have proposed it elsewhere all the expressions like the 'Dāsas, Dasyus and Āsuras' were applied to the original inhabitants of India. Then, who was really this Dāsa, who was three-faced and six-eyed? Especially in view of the finds obtaining at Mohenjo Daro and other places, the Ṛgvedic poets, while referring to this foe, must be having in view the three-faced figure of the God belonging to their direct enemies. However, we must wait for further corroboration on this point.

God as the Lord of Waters

The other instance of borrowing is that of the creation of the waters. The Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata narrate emphatically that Nārāyaṇa so obtained his name on account of his lying on waters. The expression Nārā in the word Nārāyaṇa, which first occurs in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka is of a purely Dravidian origin. The word must have been derived from the Dravidian word *'Nīr'*.[37] The close association of the snake with the waters and later on with Nārāyaṇa, clearly indicates the correctness of such a view. Nay even the Ṛgveda supports such a theory. To quote the Ṛgvedic stanza itself:

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[36] *Ṛgveda,* XCIX. 6.

[37] *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Language,* p. 571; cf. Kittel, *Kanarese-English Dict.*, p. xxxvi.

"We bring the stay of Life (*Jīvadhanyam*),
who protects the waters (*Apām Pērum*), swift—
hearing, friend of Gods, who waits on sacrifice."[38]

The expression '*Apām Pērum*' is very significant here. Griffith translates it as 'who makes the waters swell.' Ludwig interprets it as meaning 'Drinker of waters,' and says that Soma is meant there. Sāyaṇa rightly interprets it as meaning 'Protector,' and the expression '*Jīvadhanyam*' as 'the great souls residing in him.'[39]

Now, the word '*Pērum*' is really of Dravidian origin, it being derived from the root 'Pēr.' The word '*Pērumāḷ*' is current as meaning 'Overlord' or Śiva. Then who must be this Lord of Waters? The identification is clear enough, namely, that it must be the God of the proto-Indians.

God as Ardhanārīśvara

According to Father Heras the idea of Ardhanārīśvara Ammā) was in vogue in the proto-Dravidian period. This idea must have acted as a source of inspiration for Kapila and other writers to develop the notion of the Puruṣa and the Prakṛti.

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[38] *Ṛgveda*, X. 36. 8.

[39] Sāyaṇa: *Udakānām Pērum Pālakam Jīvadhanyam, dhānyā jīvā yasminnasau Jīvadhanyaḥ.*

A FAMILY OF SCRIBES

BY

S. M. Katre, M.A., Ph.D.,

Poona.

The critical study of Manuscripts in India is still a young subject, although the collection and preservation of these witnesses to our ancient heritage began in earnest during the sixties of the last century. As I recently pointed out[1] the critical editing of Indian texts has not kept pace with the collection and preservation of MSS. in this country and barring such exceptional cases like the critical edition of the Mahābhārata, a deep study of MSS. on a given topic is still a desideratum. We have dated as well as undated MSS written on different materials, in several Indian and extra-Indian scripts, from which a systematic study will bring out valuable historical and paleographical data. In the first place we have no study of the Descent of MSS in order to enable us to trace the history of Manuscript Transmission in our country. Where a text has been critically edited, from the collation of several MSS. of the text, some work has been done to trace the genealogical relationship between them; but this is microscopic as compared to the number of MSS of different works in existence. Similarly we have not attempted to study in detail the story of textual transmission through the unrecorded labour of scribes but for whose constant, even if somewhat mechanical or unintelligent copying activities, most of our ancient treasures would have been irretrievably lost. If part of this responsibility is to be ascribed to the scribes themselves who remain

[1] *Introduction to Indian Textual Criticism*, 1941. Bombay.

unapproachable through not recording any data about themselves, a great part of the responsibility for this comparative inattention rests with the scholars themselves. No systematic attempt has been made so far to trace in detail the history of this mode of transmission through the scribes themselves, and the present paper merely indicates briefly the lines on which such an attempt should be made, on the basis of Indic Manuscripts deposited in the libraries of the United Sates of America.[2]

The subject of the paper is connected with a family of scribes who record their surname as Dāḍekara. The table below gives a chronological list of works transcribed by several Dāḍekaras according to the date of transcription.

Serial no. according to Poleman's Census		Title of Work	Name of Scribe.	Date of transcription.
1.	1236	Ādityahṛdayastotra. 22f. 5.9 4.9 lines.	Parāsurāma Dāḍekara, son of Mahādeva.	Ś. 1656
2.	3156	Kaustubhānusārī-prāyaś-cittaprayoga. 5 ff. 8 3.9. 9-11 lines.	Bhāskara (bhaṭṭa) Dḍeākara.	Ś. 1709
3.	3161	*Sarvaprāyaścitta. 20 ff. 8 3.9. 8 lines.	Bhāskara (bhaṭṭa) Dāḍekara	Ś. 1709
4.	3387	Pavanapāvana. 4 ff. 8 3.9. 9 lines.	*ib.*	Ś. 1709
5.	3164	*Sthālīpāka-iṣṭi-prāyas-citta. 18 ff. 8.25 4.9 lines	*ib.*	Ś. 1710
6.	1235	Ādityahṛdayastotra. 14 ff. 5.75 4.9. 11 lines.	*ib.*	Ś. 1717
7.	828	Viṣṇudivyasahasranāmā-vali-stotra. 16 ff. 5.3 4.2.9 lines.	*ib.*	Ś. 1720

[2] *A Census of India Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, 1938, by H. I. Poleman.

Serial no. according to Poleman's Census		Title of Works	Name of Scribe.	Date of transcription
8.	1816	Śivāparādhastotra. 4 ff. 5.75 3.6. 9 lines.	*ib.*	Ś. 1720
9.	1549	Gaṅgāsahasranāma from the Kāśikhaṇḍa. 28 ff. 5.9 4.9 lines.	*ib.*	Ś. 1723
10.	3023	Aśaucanirṇaya. 9 ff. 8.1 3.9. 10-11 lines.	*ib.*	Ś. 1734
11.	3110	Strīśūdrāṇām tīrthavidhiḥ 4 ff. 8.1 3.9. 8 lines.	*ib.*	Ś. 1736
12.	3450	Anantapūjākathā. 20 ff. 8.1 3.9. 9 lines.	*ib.*	Ś. 1740
13.	164	Aitareyāraṇyaka. 53 ff. 8.1 3.9. 9-10 lines.	*ib.*	Ś. 1741
14.	1029	Ṛṣipañcamīpūjā. 4ff. 6 4. 9 lines.	Rāmacandra Dāḍekara	Ś. 1745
15.	42	*Laghu Ṛgvidhāna. 11 ff. 8.4 4.1. 9 lines.	Kṛṣṇa (bhaṭṭa) Dāḍekar	Saṁ. 1914
16.	1217	Halaṣaṣṭhivratakathā. 5 ff. 8.5 4.3. 9 lines.	*ib.*	Saṁ. 1914
17.	4581	Baṭukadīpadānaprakāra. 2 ff. 8.4 4.1. 9 lines.	*ib.*	Saṁ. 1914
18.	1241	*Ṛṇaharaṣaḍakṣaracintāmaṇistotra. 1 f. 8.5 3.3 8 lines.	*ib.*	
19.	1565	Prajñāvardhanastotra. 1f. 8.5 3.3.	*ib.*	

Thus the most ancient work of transcription in this list is that of Paraśurāma Dāḍekara, son of Mahādeva Dāḍekara, in the Śaka year 1656 corresponding to A.D. 1734. The earliest work of Bhāskara (bhaṭṭa) Dāḍekara in this line is in A.D. 1787 and the latest in A.D. 1819, indicating an activity of nearly 23 years. On the other hand the scribal activity of Kṛṣṇa (bhaṭṭa) Dāḍekara is

particularly recorded for the Saṃvat era 1914, corresponding to A.D. 1858. Practically all these MSS. belong to the University of Pennsylvania collection, the largest in America, and may be presumed to have come from a common locality, purchased through one particular family or different members of the same family. During 124 years of scribal activities we notice four names of scribes: (a) Paraśurāma, son of Mahādeva Dāḍekara, (b) Bhāskara (bhaṭṭa) Dāḍekara, (c) Rāmacandra and (d) Kṛṣṇa (bhaṭṭa) Dāḍekara. Of these (b) and (d) are characterised by the optional use of the title -bhaṭṭa with the names. In the absence of further details (if any are recorded) it is not possible to describe the genealogical relationship between these four scribes. But a consideration of the size of the material used, of the nature of the works transcribed, etc., indicates strongly in favour of the presumption that all the four must belong to the same family, and in spite of the small number of copies available to us, must have been a very active family of scribes. It will probably be possible to trace their inter-relationship by a further study of these very MSS. which are at present beyond our immediate reach.

It will thus be seen that if a systematic study of the names of scribes, wherever and whenever recorded, with the relevant data gathered round them, is attempted with reference to all Indian MSS. collections, a great forward step will have been taken in unravelling the tangled history of textual transmission in India.

DHAMMA—CAKKA

BY

D. D. KAUSAMBI.

The word *cakka* chiefly means a wheel. There are several wheels which are very useful to the human society. The potter's wheel had made production of pots very easy. The spinning-wheel produced enough cloth for home consumption and export. The wheel of cart moved the commodities where they were needed. Of course, there was the boat plying through rivers. But it could not carry the goods to the distant places from a river. The wheel of cart did it, and so it was the most useful wheel; it revolutionized the trade.

When life was obstructed by an internal rising, then it was only good for running away to a place of safety.

> पुन च परं भिक्खवे होति स समयो यं भयं होति अटवि संकोपो, चक्क-समारूढा जनपदा परियायन्ति।

"Then, again, o bhikkhus, there comes a time when there arises the danger of an internal rising, and the people riding on wheel run here and there." (*Anguttaranikāya, Tikanipāta, Sutta* No. 62).

Here the *Aṭṭhakathā* explains the phrase *cakkasamārūḷhā* as follows:

> चक्कसमारूढाति एत्थ इरियापथ-चक्कं पि वट्टति यानचक्कं पि। भयस्मिं हि सम्पत्ते येसं यानानि अत्थि, ते अत्तनो परिक्खारभण्डं तेसु आरोपेता पलायन्ति; येसं नत्थि, ते काजेन वा आदाय सीसेन वा उक्खिपित्वा पलायन्ति येव। ते चक्कसमारूढा नाम होन्ति।

Here iriyāpatha-cakka means one of the four ways of behaviour, i.e., walking, standing, sitting and lying down.[1]

[1] See also Sanyutta, Vol. I, p. 16 and 63. *"Catucakkaṁ navadvaraṁ."*

Then the Buddha added four more cakkas to these, *i.e.*, dwelling in a fitting place, association with the worthy ones, right application of the self and merit done aforetime.

Dhamma—cakka.

> चत्तारीमानि भिक्खवे चक्कानि येहि समन्नागतानं देवमनुस्सानं चतुचक्कं पवत्तति... कतमानि चत्तारि? पटिरूपदेसवासो, सप्पुरिसूपस्सयो, अत्तसम्मापणिधि, पुब्बे च कतपुञ्ञता।
>
> (*Anguttara, catukkanipāta, sutta* No.31).

All these *cakkas* made life easy and happy, and a good king was expected to keep them moving by means of his just and pious rule.[2]

Then arose the legend of the *cakkaratana* (the celestial wheel). It appears to a pious monarch, moves in the four directions followed by the monarch and his army. All the small kings submit to it, and then it comes and stands in the front of the Judgment Hall (*atthakaraṇapamukhe*) or the monarch. He is called *cakkavattī*, because of his virtues, he lets the *cakka* move in all the directions and makes the people happy keeping the other wheels moving freely.

> "चक्करतनं वत्तेति, चतूहि सम्पत्ति-चक्केहि वत्तति, ते हि च परं वत्तेति, परहिताय च इरियापथचक्कानं वत्तो एतस्मिं अत्थी ति चक्कवत्ती।
>
> (*Dīgha Aṭṭhakathā* I, 308-9, Siamese edition)

"One who turns the *cakkaratana*, endowed with the four blessed *cakkas*, who lets others move with them, and whose four behaviour *cakkas* are for the happiness of others, is called a *cakkavattī*."

The Dhammacakka (the wheel of the Dhamma) is always compared to the *cakkaratana*. As the *cakkaratana*

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[2] "*Dadabhuñja ca mā ca pamādo, cakkaṁ vattaya Kosalādhipa.*" Jātakaṭṭhakathā

"ददभुंज च मा च पमादो, चक्कं वत्तय कोसलाधिप।"

Fousboll's edition, Vol. III. 412.

appears to the pious monarch who fulfils all his duties, and moves in all the directions, bringing peace and prosperity everywhere, so the Dhammacakka appears to the Buddha under the Bodhi tree, by the virtue of the *Pāramitas* which he fulfils in his previous births, and by the preaching of his first sermon at Benares, he lets it move in all the directions making the people happy who submit to its rule.

> दानपारमिं पूरेन्तो पि धम्मचक्कं उप्पादेति नाम....पे....उपेक्खा-पारमिं पूरेन्तो पि धम्मचक्कं उप्पादेति नाम...बोधि-मण्डवरं गतो सोता-पत्तिमग्गं पटिविज्झन्तो पि...पे...अरहत्तमग्गं पटिविज्झन्तो पि धम्म-चक्कं उप्पदेति येव नाम। अरहत्तफलक्खणे पन तेनेव च उप्पादितं नाम...कदा पवत्तेति नाम? बोधिमण्डे
>
> सत्तसत्ताहं वीतिनामेत्वा इसिपतने मिगदाये अञ्जकोण्डञ्जत्थेरं कायसक्खिं कत्वा धम्मचक्कप्पवत्तन-सुत्तन्तं देसेन्तो धम्मचक्कं पवत्तेति नाम। यदा पन अञ्जाकोण्डञ्जत्थेरेन दसबलस्स देसनाञाणानुभावनिब्बतं सवनं लभित्वा सब्बपठमं धम्मो अधिगतो ततो पट्ठाय धम्मचक्कं पवत्तितं होतीति वेदितब्बं।

(*Anguttara-Aṭṭhakathā. Siamese edition* I. 128-129).

He (the Buddha as the Bodhisatta) fulfilling the perfection of charity, it is said, lets the *Dhammacakka* come to being . . . He fulfilling the perfecion of equanimity lets the *Dhammacakka* come to being. He sitting under the supreme Bodhi tree . . and attending the *sotāpattimagga* . . . *arahattamagga* also lets the Dhammacakka come to being. But when he attends the *arahattaphala*, then by him, so to say, it is brought into existence. When does he let it move? Having spent seven weeks near the supreme Bodhi tree, he comes to Isipatana Migadāya, and addressing to the elder Aññākoṇḍañña preaches the Dhamma-cakkappavattana sutta, then it is said he lets the Dhammacakka move. But when, having obtained the chance of hearing (the sermon), which was produced by the power of the preaching knowledge of the Dasabala

(Buddha), the *Dhamma* was understood by the elder Aññākoṇḍañña, then, it should be known, that the *Dhammacakka* was caused to be moved.

Here I give the sutta in which the Dhammacakka is compared to the *cakkaratana*.

"Bhikkhus, a ruler, who is a *cakkavattī*, just and pious ruler, even he is not without a chief." At these words a bhikkhu said to the Blessed One: "who then, lord, is the chief of a *cakkavattī*, just and pious?" "*Dhamma*, O bhikkhu" replied the Blessed One, and further said: "In this world, bhikkhu, a ruler who is a *cakkavattī*, a just and pious monarch in dependence on *Dhamma*, honouring *Dhamma*, respectful and deferential to *Dhamma*, with *Dhamma* as his banner, with *Dhamma* as his standard, with *Dhamma* as his chief, keeps watch and ward amongst his household.

"Then again o bhikkhu, a ruler . . . keeps watch and ward amongst the warriors who follow in his host, amongst brahmins and house-fathers, dwellers in outlying parts, amongst recluses and brahmins, beasts and birds, alike.

"He it is that ruler . . . who keeps watch and ward . . . that lets the *cakka* move, on account of the *Dhamma*. That *cakka* is not to be set back by any human foe whatsoever.

"Just so, o bhikkhu, the Tathāgata, that Arahat who is a Fully Enlightened One, the just and pious ruler, in dependence on *Dhamma*, honouring *Dhamma*, respectful and deferential to *Dhamma*, with *Dhamma* as his banner, *Dhamma* as his standard, *Dhamma* as his chief, keeps

the watch and ward over the actions of body, preaching that such and such actions of body must be practised, and such and such actions of body must not be practised . . . And the same to be said of actions of speech and mind . . . He it is, o bhikkhu, that Tathāgata, that Arahat . . . thus keeping watch and ward over the acts of body, speech and mind, let the unsurpassed *Dhammacakka* move on account of *Dhamma*. That *cakka* is not to be set back by any recluse, brahmin, deva, Māra or Brahmā whatsoever in the world." (*Anguttaranikāya, Tikanipāta, Sutta* no. 14).[3]

With this *sutta* the *Cakkavattisutta*[4] also should be read. The knowledge of these two *suttas* is essential to understand the full meaning of the *Dhammacakka*, and the symbol of wheel (*cakka*) which represents the *Dhamma*.

[3] See translation in 'the Book of the Gradual Sayings,' part i, 95-96.

[4] Dīghanikāya part iii, sutta 3, translated by Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, part iii, pp. 59—76.

PĀṆINI'S VOCABULARY

BY

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, M.A., D.C.L.

S. P. Caturvedi in an interesting contribution to the *Woolner Commemoration Volume*[1] starts with the assertion that the language which forms the subject of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī must have been once a current language and not the creation of Pāṇini's imagination. He recognises that his treatment of Vedic Sanskrit is cursory, and holds that it is reasonable to regard the classical Sanskrit literature as the basis of his grammar, and consequently to expect the use in the literature preserved of words formed in accordance with the grammar.

The view of Dr. R. G. Bhaṇḍārkar seems to suit the position adequately. He holds that the language of the *Aitareya* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas* was known to Pāṇini. There was also known to him the current language of the day, the *bhāṣā* which he contrasts with *chandasi* or *mantre*, denoting specifically the Vedic literature. Now it is clear that Patañjali found many expressions in Pāṇini which were not in use in his time, and from this fact Mr. Caturvedi concludes that an interval of three or four centuries would not be sufficient to account for the change in vocabulary. In fact, if Pāṇini's language belongs to the pre-Mahābhārata period, we shall have to shift back the date of Pāṇini to a period earlier than the ninth century B.C., as accepted by C. V. Vaidya.[2]

To confirm this opinion, we are given a list of obscure words found in Pāṇini's grammar, which have either

[1] Pp. 46—50.

[2] *History of Indian Literature*, section iii, p. 159.

undergone change in meaning or have become obsolete. Words enumerated in the *Gaṇapāṭha* are not included, for clearly many words have been added to it later. The list is interesting:[3] it covers *aikāgārika*, a thief; *ullāgha*, able, recently recovered from sickness; *upasaṁvāda*, to stake; *āsandī*, a seat; *indriya*, pertaining to Indra; *upajñā* to teach or propound for the first time; *avara*, not less than; *aṇaka*, insignificant or small; *atisarga*, to allow one to do what one likes; *atyādhāna*, a wooden support on which other wooden pieces are cut; *āgavīna*, a labourer who works in return for a cow given temporarily; *adhīṣṭa*, to employ with honour; *aniravasita*, not an outcaste; *antarvatnī*, pregnant; *anvājekaraṇa*, to strengthen; *apamitya*, being in debt; *apaskara*, part of a chariot; *upasamādhāna*, to collect; *abhreṣa*, non-deviation; *amatra*, a vessel; *amnas*, unawares; *ayānaya*, particular movements of the pawns on a chessboard; *arma*, a ruined village; *aślīla-dṛḍharūpā*, ugly; *āprapada*, reaching up to foot; *udgha*, praiseworthy; *upayamana*, to marry; *udaśvit*, buttermilk; *kulmāṣa*, eatables; *kṣetriya*, an incurable disease or adulterer; *udaya*, following letter; *upottama*, last but one letter; *śalālu*, a fragrant substance; *sthālībila*, rice fit for boiling; *pralambhana*, to make false statements; *kulija*, a kind of measure; *maskara*, pipe; *pratyavasāna*, one who eats, but does not work; *niṣpravāṇiḥ*, a blanket recently made; *poṭā*, with both male and female signs; *samāṁsamīnā*, one having delivery every year; *kāmapravedana*, to express one's desire; *adyaśvānī*,[4] delivering today or tomorrow; *sāmi*, half; *kaṇehatya*, to the full satisfaction; *viśiṣṭa*, different; *vicāla*, to unify or to divide one in many; *pratiyatha*, to adopt quality of others; *bhagāla*, skull; *parut*, last year.

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[3] Some of the references given the inaccurate and the meanings assigned are occasionally doubtful.

[4] Correct, *adyaśvīnā* (V. S. Agrawala)

Do any of these expressions require us to place Pāṇini in say the tenth century B.C.? Are they not phrases which might easily have been used six centuries later, and yet have evaded occurring in any text of the Brāhmaṇa or Upaniṣad literature? We must remember that Pāṇini knew varieties of the speech of northerners and of easterners, and we do not know with certainty where he himself dwelt, though we reasonably believe that it was in the land which knew well the *Aitareya*, and we understand that he was a native of Śalātura, near the modern Atak, where Hiuen Tsang saw a statue to his memory. We must recognise that the word Yavanānī was known to him, if his text is to be trusted, and with that mark we cannot insist on placing him before the fifth century B.C. on the assumption that Yavanānī had become known to him from the period when Persia had entered into conflict with Greece. It is of course possible to place the date further back, but it cannot be said to be at all necessary. On the whole, it still appears to me to be more probable to assign him to *circa* 350 B.C. than to any earlier date.

A later date is forbidden by the date which is fairly certainly to be assigned to Patañjali, somewhere about 150 B.C., and to Kātyāyana, who must be about fifty years older.[5] But the difficulty here arises that Patañjali's date may be wrongly deduced from references in the *Mahābhāṣya*, which may merely reproduce older material. On the whole, however, this is improbable; if older material were preserved it would be curious to find nothing more recent than the references which point to 150 B.C., and for the present at least we have the right to accept this as one of the better attested parts of our knowledge of Indian literary history.

[5] Cf. Keith, *Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 426 ff.

THE DALAVĀI FAMILY OF MYSORE

BY

DR. M. H. KRISHNA, M.A., D.LITT. (LOND.),

Director of Archaeology, Mysore.

Introduction.

It is well known that when the Empire of Vijayanagar declined, the Hindu state of Mysore gradually rose in importance until at last it came to occupy the predominant position in the politics of South Dakhan by 1748 A.D. Its further progress under the dynasty of Hyder has been usually studied with greater interest because of the conflict with the British Power. Really, the foundations of the power of Mysore were well and truly laid long before the days of Hyder. The credit for this political achievement is due to the reigning family of Mysore, advised, assisted and loyally served by numerous families belonging to the Mysore District and its neighbourhood. The most important of these great families which contributed to the rise of Mysore was doubtless the family of the Chiefs of Kaḷale who held the Dalavāiship or Chief-generalship of the Mysore forces for many generations during a century and a half extending between 1610 and 1760 A.D. An attempt is made in this paper to give a short sketch of the part played by this Kaḷale family in the History of Mysore.

Sources.

In addition to the inscriptions connected with the Kaḷale family collected and published in the Epigraphia Carnatica, the Mysore Archaeological Reports, etc., a few useful literary sources are available in Kannaḍa and

Sanskrit. Of these the Kannaḍa manuscript work " Kaḷale Doregaḷa Vaṁśāvali" is a paper manuscript giving a traditional account of the Kaḷale family down to the year 1799 A.D. A detailed review of it appears in the Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Survey for the year 1942.[1] This is a useful work which corroborates and supplements the information which is contained in that valuable source of Mysore History "Mysore Mahārājara Vaṁśāvaḷi." A manuscript called "Vēnupurada Kshatriya Vaṁśāvaḷi"[2] gives a detailed genealogy of the family. For the history of some of the most important Dalavais of the eighteenth century useful information is available in the following works :

Nanjarāja Yasōbhūshaṇa[3]
Nanjarāja Yaśassamullāsa[4]
Hyder-Nāma[5]
Piexoto's Hyder Ali[6]
Chikkadēvarāja Vaṁśāvali
Kanṭmīrava Narasarāja Vijaya, etc.

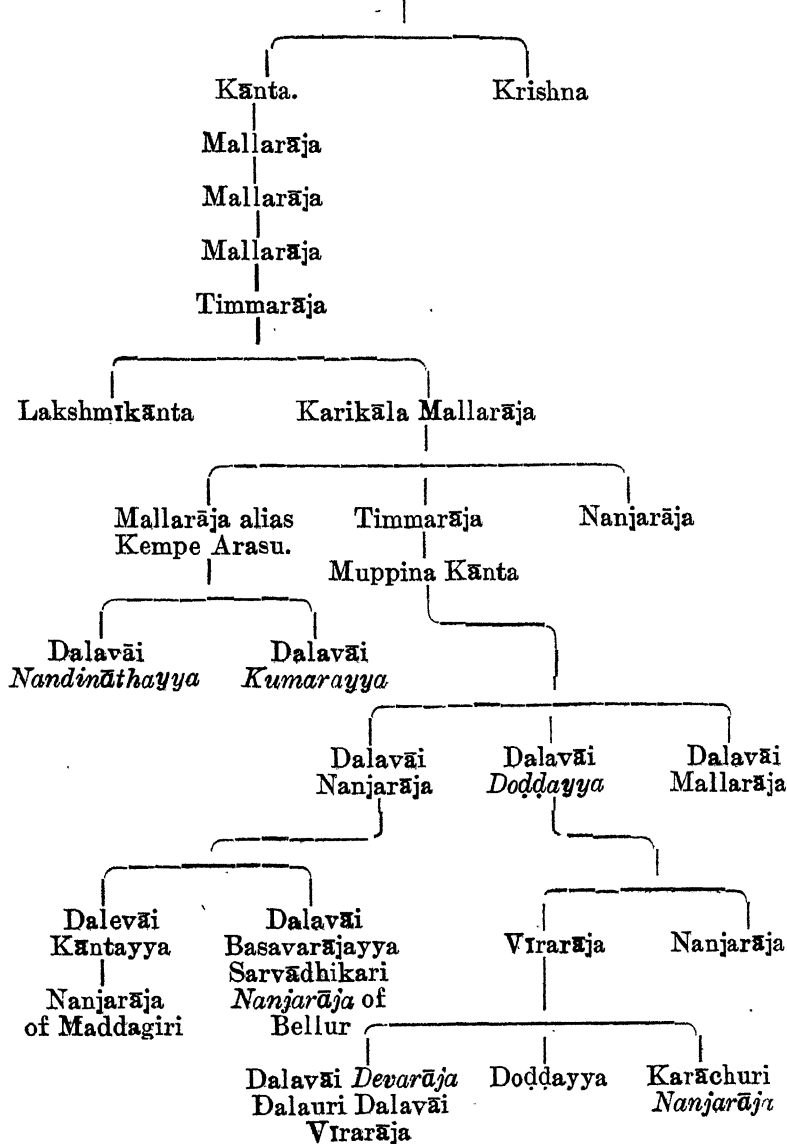
Wilks has recorded in his History of Mysore much valuable information derived from the sources which he had before him.

Genealogy.

Several genealogies of the family, slightly differing from each other, are available. Of these the one furnished by the Kaḷale Doregaḷa Vaṁśāvali needs several corrections in the light of the evidence of epigraphy,[7] the Nanjarāja

[1] Pp. 78—99.
[2] Mysore Govt. Oriental Library Catalogue No. K.B. 424.
[3] Gaekwad Or. Series, No. XLVII, vi.
[4] Mys. Govt. Or. Library Catalogue Ms. K. B. 999.
[5] M. A. R. 1930.
[6] M. A. R. 1937.
[7] Yeḍatore 41 of 1741 and T-Narsipur 36 of 1748.

Yaśōbhushaṇa[8] and other sources. The following genealogy may, perhaps, be adopted as a result of the combined study of these several sources.

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE DALAVAI FAMILY
(abbreviated)

[8] Gaekwad Oriental Series No. XLVII, vi.

Early History.

The traditional origin of the Kaḷale family is curiously similar to that of the Mysore Oḍeyar family.[9] Two brothers Kānta and Krishna are stated to have left their original home in Dvārāvati or Dvāraka and to have settled down at Kaḷale in the Nanjangūd Taluk of the Mysore District in the year 1499 A.D., probably as subordinates of the chiefs of Ummattūr who were related to the imperial family of Vijayanagar and claimed to be local governors on their behalf.[10] In course of time the Kaḷale family became related by marriage with the neighbouring Arasu Pāleyagars like those of Mysore, Beṭṭadakōṭe, Yelandūr, etc.

Karikāla Mallarājayya.

It is said that before 1610 the chiefs of Kaḷale had an income of about 40,000 gadyānas while those of Mysore had 33 villages yielding an income of over 25,000 gadyānas. They were practically of equal importance. The rise of Rāja Oḍeyar, Raja of Mysore, to the position of the Viceroy of the Vijayanagar Empire at Seringapatam on that date brought the Kaḷale family also into prominence since its head Karikāla Mallarājayya was the son of a sister of Rāja Oḍeyar. During his boyhood Mallarājayya who feared the enmity of some of his neighbours had sought refuge with Rāja Oḍeyar,[11] his maternal uncle and lived in the Mysore Court for some time. When he grew up Rāja Oḍeyar restored his nephew to the Kaḷale principality with the help of the latter's father-in-law, the chief of Yelandur. The Kaḷale Vaṁśāvali claims that in about 1616 A.D. Rāja Oḍeyar and Mallarājayya entered

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[9] See Annals of the Mysore Royal Family, pp. 4-5.

[10] The Vēnupurada Kshatriya Vaṁśāvali—Catalogue of the Mysore Govt. Oriental Library, K. B. 424.

[11] Annals of the Mysore Royal Family, p. 47.

into a written agreement in the presence of the former's family deity Chāmuṇḍa to the effect that so long as the two dynasties endured, the descendants of Rāja Oḍeyar should rule Mysore as its Rajas (Kartas) and the descendants of Mallarajayya should hold the position of the chief-generalship of the Mysore forces (Daḷavāis) and that they should both cooperate to extend the territories of the Mysore Kingdom. The Annals of the Mysore Royal Family mention no such agreement and allege that Karikala Mallarājayya did not stay in the Mysore Court to serve his uncle but retired to his principality at Kaḷale. There were besides a number of breaks in the continuity of the Kaḷale Daḷavāis since several other Dalavāis also are known to have served the state simultaneously. Thus the existence of an agreement at so early a date as 1616 has no evidence to support it.[12] But even if there was no such definite agreement, the Kaḷale family did hold the Dalavāiship of Mysore with a few breaks from generation to generation between 1616 and 1761.

Nandinathayya.

Mallarāja's grandson Nandināthayya is said to have been appointed Dalavāi towards the close of 1616 A.D.[13] Between that year and 1637 there appears to have been four other Dalavāis, viz., Beṭṭada Arasu, Bannūr Linganna, Basavalinganna and Vikramarāya, the last being a son of Chāmarāja Oḍeyar. But the Kaḷale Vaṁśāvalī claims that Nandināthayya was the chief leader of the Mysore armies against the neighbouring powers. But according to the Annals[14] all these conquests were accomplished before 1616 A.D. in which year the first Dalavāi was appointed. The Kaḷale Vamśāvali states that Nandi-

[12] For details see M. A. R. 1942, pp. 80-81.
[13] But see Annals, pp. 45—48.
[14] P. 43.

nāthayya defeated and subdued the chiefs of Bannūr, Mūgūr, Talkad, etc. He also defeated the chief of Hāgalvadi who was supporting the Nāyaks of Madura, and occupied Satyāgāla, Ummattūr and Haradanahaḷḷi, plundering their elephants and camels. Yeḷandur was however bestowed on Rāmarājarāya and the chief of Tagaḍur was given protection. The gifts to the temples, Brahmins, etc., in the Mysore territory were maintained and reorganised. In 1617 A.D. Rāja Oḍeyar died at Seringapatam and his grandson Chāmarāja Oḍeyar came to the throne. Under him Nandināthayya conquered Maddur and Channapatna.[15] When the troops of Bairanāyaka, Sālanāyaka, Bēlūr Krishnappa Nāyaka and other confederates marched against the Dalavāi,[16] he defeated them and acquired Chennarāyapaṭna and other places. He plundered all their insignia and arms. After Chāmarāja Oḍeyar II was enthroned with the support of the Daḷavāi and other notables, Nandināthayya defeated Krishnappa-Nāyaka of Arkalgūḍ and made him a vassal of the Mysore Kingdom wresting from him a large sum of money, elephants and horses. Many other chiefs were conquered and their *birudas* like Hanuman, Garuḍa, Sankha, Chakra, Makara, Tekke, etc., were annexed to the Mysore king. Chāmarāja II died in 1638 A.D. having ruled for a year and a half and was succeeded by Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Oḍeyar, son of Beṭṭada Chāmarāja Oḍeyar who was a brother of Rāja Oḍeyar. Some days after the coronation Dalavāi Nandinathayya passed away.

Kumārayya.

The Kaḷale Vamśāvali claims that in succession to Nandināthayya, the king appointed as Dalavāi his younger

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[15] Cp. Annals, pp. 50—52 for the conquests.

[16] Not mentioned in the Annals.

brother Kumārayya. The Mysore Annals[17] do not even name Kumārayya during the period though several other Dalavāis like Vikramarāya are named and their existence is supported by inscriptions.[18] Perhaps Kumārayya was one of the several Dalavāis early in the reign and had later on a greater share in the heroic exploits of the king like the repulse of Ranadulla Khān's invasion of Seringapatam[19] and his defeat and retreat, the heroic battle of Periyāpaṭna and its conquest,[20] the defeat of Vīrappa Nāyak of Madura and the annexation of Satyamangala, Danāyakanakōte,[21] etc. Being pleased with the Dalavāi for his services, the king is said to have conferred on him the title "Pararāja Hariṇa Śārdūla" and presented him with various jewels. The Dalavāi next conquered Yelahankanād (Yelvanka), north of Bangalore, and besieged Māgaḍi,[22] whose chief Chikka Kempe Gowḍa sought his protection by paying tribute. Kallūr, Kaḍaba, Turuvēkere, Māyasandra and other places were then annexed to Mysore, and a number of minor chiefs were subdued as also the chiefs of Malayāla and Konkaṇa.[23] Samēti Rangappa Nāyaka was offered protection and granted Ratnagiri, while the emperor Śrīrangarāya of Vijayanagar who had transferred his capital to Bēlūr was promised support.

When the famous Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja passed away in 1659 and Doḍḍa Dēvarāja Oḍeyar succeeded him

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17 See p. 94. As many as eight Dalavāis are mentioned.

18 Nanjangūd 9 of 1643.

19 Ranadulla Khan was the Bijapur General. For details of the invasion see the Annals, pp. 72—76. But the name of Kumārayya does not occur there.

20 Ballad of Periyāpatna.

21 Cp. the list of the Annals, pp. 68 ff.

22 Not mentioned in the Annals.—But see Wilks' History of Mysore, Vol. I, pp. 33—35.

23 Not mentioned in the Annals.

on the Mysore throne, Keladi Śivappa Nāyaka made great preparations[24] for a war and besieged Seringapatam. Dalavāi Kumārayya[25] marched against him with the Mysore army and totally routed his forces. His ally Lakshmappa Nāyaka of Narasimhapura (Holenarsīpur) was beaten and humbled while all his belongings were plundered and Narasimhapura itself was taken.[26] The chief of Arkalgūd submitted and agreed to pay an annual tribute. The territories of Śivappa Nāyaka of Keladi like Sakkarepaṭna, Vasudhāre, Hassan, etc., were annexed. Chikkanāyakanahaḷḷi which belonged to the Mahomedan rulers of Bijāpur was also captured. The chiefs of Hāgalvādi and other places submitted and received protection. Chokka Nāyaka of Madura who offered war was beaten and driven out. His territories, namely Erōde, Vāmanūr, Dhārāpura, etc., were all annexed. It is claimed that the Mysore forces even besieged Trichinopoly and obtained a large booty in the shape of horses, money and jewels from Chokkanātha Nāyaka. The precious stones thus obtained were inlaid into the sandals of Doḍḍa Dēvarāja and tributes were levied on Chilanāyaka and others. The battle of Dhārāpura and the heroism of Daḷavāi Kumārayya are grandly described in epic style in the manuscript called Nanjarāja Yaśassamullāsa.[27] A large number of gifts[28] consisting of precious stones, etc., were made to God Venkaṭēśvara of Tirupati and generous

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[24] Cp. Annals. p. 97 and Wilks, op. cit., p. 37. The siege of Seringapatam by Keḷadi Śivappa Nāyaka and the capture of Narasimhapura are not mentioned in the Annals. But Wilks mentions them.

[25] A series of six Daḷavāis are mentioned in the Annals, (p. 103) of whom Kumārayya was the last.

[26] See note 24 above.

[27] Mysore Govt. Oriental Library Catalogue B. 999.

[28] For details see Annals, p. 100.

gifts were made to temples and Brahmins. Thus did Dalavāi Kumārayya prosper under Doḍḍa Dēvarāja.

When this king passed away in 1673 A.D., his brother Dēvarāja II succeeded him and ruled till his death in 1678 when Chikkadēvarāja Oḍeyar was crowned at Seringapattana by Daḷavāi Kumārayya, Yeḷandur Viśālakshapandita, Tirumalaiyengar and others. Kumārayya[29] now besieged Ganganagiridurga and demanded tribute from Chikka Kempe Gowda. When the latter offered war, he was totally defeated and captured. His allies also were defeated and made tributary, while Ganganagiri[30] was occupied and Kempe Gowda's palace was plundered. Bangalore was purchased from the Marāṭhas and the Mughals.[31] The principality of Trichinopoly was then invaded and several territories within the boundary of that province were annexed.[32]

Doḍḍayya:

While Kumārayya was besieging Trichinopoly, two Marāṭha generals Jayāji Ghāṭe and Dādōji Ghaṭe[33] who appear to have belonged to the army of Śivāji passing through Karnāṭak on the latter's way from Tanjore to Poona launched an attack on the Mysore territory which appeared to be defenceless in the absence of the Mysore army and the Daḷavāi at Trichinopoly. The Marāṭha army laid siege to Seringapatam and was attempting to take it. Chikka Dēvarāja sent word to Dalavāi Kumārayya

[29] A list of seven Dalavais is given in the Annals p. 115 for the reign, of whom Kumārayya and Doḍḍayya are also mentioned.

[30] For the conquests in detail see *ibid.*, pp. 105 ff; Wilks, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-2.

[31] The Kaḷale Vamsāvali states that Bangalore was attacked and taken from Sahaji Rāya. This is evidently a mistake since we know from other sources that the place was purchased. See Annals, p. 110 and Wilks, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-7.

[32] Cp. Annals, p. 113.

[33] See Annals, pp. 113—115 and Wilks, *op. cit.*, pp. 59—61.

asking him to return immediately. The Dalavai on the other hand was determined not to show his face to the king without capturing Trichinopoly. So he appointed his nephew (son according to the Kalale Vamśāvaḷi) Doḍḍayya to deputise him as Daḷavai and sent him with the army to Seringapatam.[34] Doḍḍayya marched night and day and arrived near Kasalgere in the Kottatti hobli about four miles from the modern district town of Mandya where the Marāṭha army was camping probably after withdrawing from Seringapatam. Here a great battle took place.[35] Doḍḍayya adopted the stratagem of tying torches to the horns of his bullocks and driving them in a false direction at night. When the Maraṭhas pursued this herd, abandoning their position of defence, Doḍḍayya fell upon them and caused terrible loss. The credit of inflicting a decisive defeat on Śivāji's army at the battle of Kasalagere in 1677 A.D. should go to Dalavāi Doḍḍayya.[36] Both the Marāṭha generals were decapitated and their army was captured. Chikkadēvarāja Oḍeyar received Doḍḍayya in great pomp and state. It is said that Aurangzeb also became greatly delighted. An uncorroborated story is told by the 'Kaḷale Vamśāvaḷi' that Aurangazeb who had taken an oath that his daughter should marry no other than the person who defeated the Maraṭha generals, himself came down as far as the Krishna river and requested Chikka Dēvarāja Oḍeyar to send Doḍḍayya to his court. Chikka Dēvarāja however sent a reply to the effect that Doḍḍayya had died in the battle. The Padshah is stated to have felt extremely sorry. Thereupon he sent for the sword and portrait of the Daḷavāi

[34] What became of Kumārayya at Trichinopoly is not known.

[35] See Sivāji and the Mysore Rāj, by Dr. M. H. Krishna: Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. XXXI, Nos. 3 and 4, pp. 380—83.

[36] See Wilks, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61 and Annals, pp. 114-115 for a graphic account of the war.

and married his daughter to the sword. For the rest of her life the princess remained worshipping the portrait. It is well known, however, that this victory led to the formation of an anti-Śivāji alliance between Mysore and the Mughals. The conquests of Doḍḍayya are Śankhagiri, Nāmakal,[37] Paramati, Syādamangala and the defeat of Chinnamanāyaka in the Salem district. Somewhere about 1690 A.D. Doḍḍayya appears to have died whereupon Kāntayya[38] succeeded him. The latter was killed in an attempt to take Chikkaballapur. His uncle Nanjarājayya who is said to have succeeded him as Daḷavāi also tried to take the place but was defeated.

Basavarājayya.

About this time Chikka Dēvarāja Oḍeyar died in 1704 A.D. and Basavarājayya, son of Nanjarājayya became the Daḷavāi under King Kanṭhirava Narasarāja II. Basavarājayya[39] defeated Bechegowḍa of Chikkaballāpur and compelled him to pay tribute. The Daḷavāi got the title of "Saraṇāgata Vajrapañjara." Then Basavarājayya marched against the kingdom of Ikkēri and fought a great battle at Attāvāra. The Ikkēri chief who was defeated fled on horseback. Chikmagalur, Mahārājanadurga, Bāṇāvara and other places[40] belonging to the kingdom of Ikkēri were annexed. Further annexations were prevented when the king recalled the Daḷavāi to Seringapatam and made peace with Ikkeri.[41]

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[37] Cp. list in the Annals, pp. 105 ff. Nāmakal is omitted.

[38] See *ibid.*, p. 116. It is said that Doḍḍayya was succeeded by Koḷḷegāla Timmappayya after whom Mallarājayya, son of Kaḷale Kāntayya (*i.e.*, Ruppīna Kānta was appointed the Daḷavāi.)

[39] See the list of the Daḷavāis in the Annals, p. 156. Basavarājayya is said to have belonged to the Kallahaḷḷi family.

[40] Cp. the account in *ibid.*, pp. 156-7.

[41] Not mentioned in the Annals or Wilks, *op. cit.*

Mallarājayya II.

On the death of Basavarājayya, his uncle Mallarājayya[42] was appointed to the post of Daḷavāi. Collecting together a large army the latter set out on an expedition which resulted in the defeat of the Paleyagars of Coimbatore, Satyamangala and other places[43] and the annexation of further territories to Mysore. When King Kanṭhīrava II died in 1714 A.D., his son Doḍḍakṛishnarāja Odeyar was crowned king at Seringapatam by Daḷavāi Mallarājayya and other important officers.

Dēvarājayya : the Kingmaker.

On the death of Mallarājayya, Cheluvayya[44] is said to have succeeded him according to the Kaḷale Vamśāvali.[45] But the Annals mention Virarājayya, son of Doḍḍayya, as having held the office for short periods. But when Vīrarājayya died, his son Dēvarājayya was appointed Daḷavāi and his cousin Nanjarājayya became 'Sarvādhikāri', a post comparable to the Dewanship of the State. Three of the Raja's queens were princesses from the Kaḷale family and the Rāja was devoted to the enjoyment of music, literature, dancing and other fine arts and to the preservation of wild animals. His fathers-in-law held the two chief offices and gradually obtained very great control over the administration. From about 1720 to 1761 A.D. administrative power in the state was held more by members of the Daḷavāi family than by their royal masters. The situation was to some extent similar to that obtaining in Mahārāshtra after the Peshwas rose

[42] See *ibid.*, p. 159. Mallarājayya is not mentioned.

[43] Not mentioned either by Wilks or in the Annals.

[44] Not mentioned in the Annals. According to the Vēnupurada Kshatriya Vamśāvaḷi (Mysore Govt. Oriental Library Catalogue K. B. 424) Daḷavāi Mallarājayya, uncle of Basavarājayya, had a son named Chikke Arasu.

[45] P. 159.

to power and before the death of Sāhu. Almost during the same period Mysore also saw the concentration of the ruling power in the hands of the Kaḷale family.

During the reign of Doḍḍa Kṛishnarāja Oḍeyar seven sardars, namely, Kāsim Khan, Bārām Alla, etc., rose in revolt and marched on Seringapatam. The Daḷavāi met their forces near Kailancha[46] and defeated them with great slaughter. Kempe Gowḍa of Māgaḍi was next attacked, the fort was besieged and taken and the chief was compelled to submit.[47] In 1724 A.D. Dewan Sādulla Khān, Siddōji Ghōrpade and others led a well-equipped army against the capital and laid siege to it. But after a severe battle lasting one day they were all completely routed. In 1726 A.D. Bāji Rao, Pēshwa of the Marathas led a large army and besieged Seringapatam. He was so far harrassed and defeated by the Mysore forces that he gladly withdrew[48] accepting what little was given to him. In 1728 A.D. the Daḷavāi put down rebellions and marched against Māgaḍi Kempe Gowḍa and annexed his kingdom bringing him over to Seringapatam as a prisoner.

Kṛishnarāja Oḍeyar died in 1732, appointing the Daḷavāi as regent and directing him to crown one of the descendants of the Royal family whom his senior queen would adopt. Accordingly Chāmarāja Oḍeyar, son of Ankanahalli Dēvarāja Arasu was adopted by the queen and placed on the throne by the Kaḷale cousins, Sarvādhikāri Nanjarājayya, Daḷavāi Dēvarājayya and his younger brother Karāchūri Nanjarājayya. These three exercised so much power that the king grew jealous of them and dismissing them from office appointed a Brahmin Dēvayya as Daḷavāi and one Vīra Setty as Sarvādhikāri.

[46] Not mentioned in the Annals.

[47] Cp. Annals, p. 160.

[48] See *ibid.*

and constituted a new council of ministers to advise and help him.

The Kaḷale cousins did not take their dismissal lying. Before the king had ruled in independence for 18 months, they obtained the support of the dowager queen Dēvājammaṇṇi and a number of civil and military officers including Maddagiri Mallarājayya, Gulam Hyder Ali and others and besieged the palace. The king offered to rule in obedience to the direction of Daḷavāi Dēvarājayya. But the latter was firm.[49] He deposed the king and sent him with his family as prisoners to the hillfort of Kabbāḷadurga near Kānkānhaḷḷi. The king died there, heaving a curse on Dēvarājayya and his descendants. The king's followers were all seized and imprisoned[50] in Seringapatam. The dowager queen again adopted a child of 3 years and the Daḷavāi got the child crowned as Kṛishnarāja Oḍeyar II in 1734 A.D.

During the minority of Kṛishnarāja II, the power of regency was exercised by Daḷavāi Dēvarājayya assisted by Karāchūri Nanjarājayya. Shortly after, the Daḷavāi's brother Karāchūri Nanjarājayya led a large army and besieged Dēvanhalli. It was at this time Hyder Nāik,[51] his father Fathe Nāik, his uncle Āli Nāik and his brother Shāhbāṣ Nāik arrived at Dēvanhalli and sought help from Nanjarājayya through Mallarāja Arasu of Maddagiri. The Daḷavāi advanced 10,000[52] *varāhas* for relieving their families and Hyder Nāik was appointed in command of ten soldiers in the regiment of Katti Gopālarāja Aras. Hyder received rapid promotions and the fort of Devanhalli was taken in 1746.

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[49] Regarding the great powers of the minister see Wilks, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-3.

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 145.

[51] See Hyder-Nama, M.A.R., 1930, pp. 81 ff.

[52] 5000 according to the Kaḷale Vamśāvaḷi.

Foreign Affairs.

At this time the Nawabs of Savanūr, Kaḍapa and Karṇūl accompanied by Besalat Jung of Hyderabad came over with their armies to Seringapatam and requested the king to send the Mysore army with them against Nāsir Jung.[53] In compliance with their request the cavalry and infantry were sent under the command of Barakki Venkaṭa Rao, Balapati Nāik and Konda Nāik. Hyder Nāik was also sent with Barakki Venkaṭa Rao in command of 50 horse and 300 foot. As a result of this expedition the entire army of Nāsir Jung broke up and fled. During the plunder of the latter's treasure Hyder secured four[54] camel loads of booty which the Dalavāi allowed him to keep for himself. Hyder now managed to bribe the important officers under Karāchūri Nanjarājayya and obtained his permission to augment his cavalry and infantry.

Nanjarājayya.

In 1739 Sarvādhikāri Nanjarājayya died and Daḷavāi Dēvarājayya continued to be Dalavāi with his younger brother Karāchūri Nanjarājayya as the Sarvādhikārī. The latter was also the father-in-law of the king. Thus the Kaḷale brothers exercised their higher political power. The Kaḷale family had become so powerful that a document (Nj. 267 and 268) was executed in which the Raja and Nanjarājayya, his father-in-law, stated that as agreed to by their ancestors, Rāja Oḍeyar and Karikāla Mallarājayya, the members of the Mysore family, should reign as the 'Kartas' or sovereigns and the members of the Kaḷale family should hold heriditarily the

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[53] According to the Annals it was Nāsir Jung who sought the aid of Mysore.

[54] Cp. *ibid.*, Hyder is said to have secured 15 camel loads of treasure of which he was allowed by the king to keep 3 loads for himself.

office of Daḷavāis or commanders of the Mysore army. This claim that an earlier agreement existed is not corroborated by any other evidence. But there is no doubt that in 1758 there arose this documentary evidence purporting to confirm the existence of an agreement between Kaḷale Nanjarājayya and his son-in-law Kṛishnarāja Oḍeyar II. Under what circumstances this document came into existence and to what extent it was due to undue influence is not known. However, in 1761 the agreement appears to have ended when Nanjarājayya surrendered his powers, retired and got Hyder Ali appointed as his successor and not any member of the Kaḷale family.

Forward policy: Trichinopoly.

The decline of the Moghal Empire of Delhi and its virtual subordination to the Maraṭha Peshwa from 1739 A.D. and the internal dissensions of the Muslim dynasties of Hyderabad and Arcot encouraged the Mysore State to adopt a forward policy. The Mysore army was reorganised, its cavalry was very greatly strengthened and the impetuous and able Nanjarājayya was placed at its head. When Chandā Khāṇ, later known as Chandā Sāheb,[55] with the help of the French, besieged and captured Trichinopoly, Mohamed Āli of Arcot sent his younger brother Māfūz Khān to Dēvarājayya at Seringapatam and offered to cede Trichinopoly to Mysore and remain as Mysore's vassal if Mysore would help him to get rid of his enemy Chandā Sāheb. Accordingly Dēvarājayya gathered together Murari Rao of Gooty and other Paleyagars and sent an army of 20,000 horse and 100,000 foot under the command of his brother Karāchūri Nanjarājayya. The latter was able to reconquer the territories captured by Chandā Sāheb and approached very near

[55] For a fuller account see Wilks, *op. cit.*, pp. 172 ff and M.A.R. 1930, p. 82.

Trichinopoly where the British artillery joined him. Chandā Sāheb was defeated in a great battle and fled for refuge to the temple of Jambukēśvara. Nanjarājayya besieged the temple. Mohamed Āli now appeared before Nanjarājayya and formally made over to Mysore as per his promise the province of Trichinopoly. Being pleased with his honesty Nanjarājayya directed him to manage its affairs on behalf of Mysore till the latter should be able to send its own people to take charge of the province. Chandā Sāheb who now realised the futility of fighting the Mysore army sent his messengers to Karāchuri Nanjarājayya offering to be in charge of Trichinopoly as a vassal of Mysore. Assuring that he would no longer continue to fight, he sent away all his elephants and cavalry out of the fort and surrendered himself. Mohamed Āli meanwhile bribed Murari Rao and other prominent men in the Mysore camp and requested them to kill Chandā Sāheb. Nanjarājayya, however, proposed to take both of them under his protection and to confer jāgirs on them in the territories obtained by Mysore. But Mohamed Ali secretly bribed Mānōji, the Daḷavāi of Tanjore and got Chandā Sāheb murdered. At the same time he treacherously made over the fort of Trichinopoly to the charge of the English and himself went to Channapattana or Madras. During the siege of Trichinopoly, Hyder Nāik was allowed to augment his troops further. The title of Bahādur[56] and the jāgir of Dinḍigal were conferred on him. With his assistance Nanjarājayya prolonged the siege of Trichinopoly for a period of three years spending as much as four crores of *varāhas*. Meanwhile as Salabat Jung besieged[57] the capital, Dēvarājay-

[56] According to Wilks, *op. cit.*, p. 230, this title was bestowed on Hyder when he became virtually master of half of the kingdom.

[57] In 1756 A.D.

ya sent peremptory orders to Nanjarājayya to return immediately to Seringapatam. On Nanjarājayya's return Salabat Jung withdrew from Mysore accepting a compensation of Rs. 56,00,000.[58]

Public Works.

Dēvarajayya and Nanjarājayya were also responsible for a number of public works. In 1746 Dēvarājayya got constructed the tank called Rāmasāgara or Daḷavāikere to the south of Mysore. In 1749 he built and endowed an *agrahara* called Rāmachandrapura near Tirumakūdlu-Narsīpura. In 1753 he got built a bridge called Rāmasētu across the Kapila river in the middle of Mallanamūle at Nanjangud. He also celebrated *tulābhara* and other gifts and thus secured religious merit.

Nanjarājayya.

When Dēvarājayya died[59] in 1757 A.D., and Karāchūri Nanjarājayya continued in the position of Sarvādhikārī or Prime Minister and on his recommendation Hyder Āli was appointed Daḷavāi,[60] Nanjarājayya dominated the administration of Mysore. He had great trust in Hyder who was rapidly increasing his army and power. Meanwhile Gōvind Gōpal Hari, a Maraṭha General who had overrun the northern parts of the Mysore State, laid siege to the capital and demanded tribute to the extent of about a crore of rupees. Since there was not enough money in the treasury and it was considered very unfair to raise it from the people by putting unjust pressure upon them, Karāchūri Nanjarājayya resigned his office of Sarvādhikāri. On his recommendation Hyder was

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[58] Cp. Hyder-Nāma-M.A.R. 1930, pp. 82 and 82 n6. The sum was not however completely paid.

[59] Before his death there were misunderstandings between him and his brother, for which see Wilks, *op. cit.*, pp. 219 ff.

[60] Cp. Annals, p. 187 and Wilks, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

appointed to the post. He unscrupulously teased the people, wrung out forty lakhs of rupees and pacified and sent back Gōpāl Hari by paying him this sum. When the Marāṭha army broke up and retired, Hyder fell upon it and inflicted a severe defeat at the battle of Chinkurli. Hyder was rewarded with the title of Nawab. Hyder paid all arrears of salary due to the army and took charge of the entire administration in 1761 A.D. Khaṇḍe Rao, the king's private secretary who carried tales against him to the king and was responsible for his reverses for about a year[61] was seized and imprisoned. Meanwhile misunderstandings arose between Nanjarājayya and the king[62] and Hyder is blamed as having helped to widen the breach. Hyder made provision for the maintenance of both their families and retinue by setting apart the revenue of some local areas and the Daḷavāi family was compelled to retire from active politics.[63] Thus the political supremacy of the Daḷavāi family was ended by Hyder whom it had trusted and raised to a high position.

When Kṛishnarāja Oḍeyar II died in 1766 A.D., Karāchūri Nanjarājayya and Daḷavāi Vīrarājayya took part in the coronation of the late king's son Nanjarāja Oḍeyar. Since Nawab Hyder Bahadur was absent, his brother-in-law Mukhdum Khan took part in the coronation ceremonies. When Hyder returned and found the young king assertive about his prerogatives, he placed guards upon the king[64] and himself occupied the house of Daḷavāi Dēvarājayya and began ruling independently. Very shortly afterwards the boy king was, as stated by

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[61] For fuller details see M.A.R. 1930, p. 85; 1937, pp. 89 ff; Wilks, *op. cit.*, 233.

[62] See Annals, pp. 182 ff.

[63] Cp. Hyder-Nāma, M.A.R. 1930, p. 86.

[64] Cp. Peixoto's account, M.A.R. 1937, p. 105 n. 3.

several authorities, poisoned[65] and killed at the instigation of Hyder Āli, who raised to the throne two nominal Rajas, kept them in confinement and usurped all power himself.

Subsequent History.

For the next thirty years the Daḷavāi family was under a cloud since Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan wielded all power. But when Tipu was killed in 1799 and Kṛishnarāja Oḍeyar III was restored to the throne of his ancestors, he married a lady of the Kaḷale family and appointed Vīrarājayya once again as Daḷavāi of Mysore. Since that time the Daḷavāi family of Kaḷale has been one of the leading families of the Mysore aristocracy and has kept itself in intimate and loyal relationship, matrimonial and personal with the Mysore Royal Family. The late Mr. Daḷavāi Devarāja Urs, a member of the Mysore Executive Council, and the late Sardar M. Kāntarāja Urs, Dewan of Mysore from 1923 to 1926, were both members of the Kaḷale family, while the mother of H. H. the late Kṛishnarāja Oḍeyar IV and the mother of H. H. the Maharāja Jayachāmarāja Oḍeyar, the present Ruler of Mysore, are also descendants of the Kaḷale family.

Place in Mysore History.

From the above account it is thus seen that the family of the Kaḷale chiefs held for about a century and a half with only a few interruptions, the Daḷavāiship of the Mysore State and during the middle of the 18th century, the Prime-Ministership of the Mysore State also for about two generations. A good share of the military successes of Mysore before the days of Hyder was due to the generalship of that family. Except for some short periods of misunderstanding and opposition in 1737 and

[65] See *ibid.*, p. 118 n. 1 and Wilks, *op. cit.*, pp. 385-6.

1760, the Kaḷale family did loyal service to the Maharajas of Mysore and contributed a great deal to the prosperity of the state.

The service of the Kaḷale family to the Mysore State from 1616 for over 300 years is something noteworthy in South-Indian History. Essentially a military family, giving its loyal service to the State and its rulers, the Daḷavāi family of Kaḷale was, in the history of Mysore, second only in importance to the Royal Family. The close relationship of its members to the royal family made them work for its prosperity, while the fact that they were natives of Mysore made them guard the interests of its people. Thus among the numerous historical families of Mysore, of whose contributions to Mysore History the world of scholarship knows very little, the Daḷavāi Family of Kaḷale has been one of the foremost.

THE GENESIS OF PAHARI PAINTING

BY

BHABANI CHURN LAW.

One of the most intriguing questions connected with Indian painting is the origin of the Pahari School. Our primary cause of interest in the School is the fascinating character of its work. So discerning a critic as Laurence Binyon, who, although a fine poet, as a critic cannot be accused of indulging in poetic rhapsodies, has expressed the feelings awakened in him by examples of Kangra art in words which will thrill every lover of Indian art: "I can never forget the extraordinary pleasure and exhilaration I felt when I first made acquaintance with drawings from the Kangra Valley. How was it, I thought, that such enchanting things had remained unknown to us in the West? There was one small drawing in particular, a drawing in line without colour, of two lovers sitting in a pavillion, with music played to them by attendants, and hailing with joy the moon rise over a lake. It drew one into itself, into a world of magical radiance. It was simple and poignant as a song . . . True it is that the sweetness of them, in the later productions of the school, is apt to cloy; their grace declines to a weak prettiness. But judged by its best as it should be, the art of Kangra is a pure delight. We are not to expect from it more than it sets out to give: but where else shall we find drawings more exquisitely expressive of natural feeling in a lyric vein?"[1] With penetrating insight he discovers its similarity to the old ballad poetry of England in its reliance on traditional forms and effect on the feelings.

[1] French, J. C., 'Himalayan Art', Introduction by L. Binyon, p. v.

" . . . in the art of Kangra there is a frankness and abandon, a spontaneous directness which affects one like some of our own ballad poetry, with its stock turns of phrase and its traditional refrains, but also its heart-piercing sudden sweetness. It is something unique in the world's art."[2]

We have quoted at length from Binyon, first, because he has caught the spirit of these wonderful drawings, secondly, because no higher praise, generous yet just, from so competent an authority has been bestowed by a foreigner on the art of our Himalayan valleys, and finally, because he sums up so exquisitely the compelling power of the art on our souls and the reasons for this. But though it is the aesthetic and spiritual values of Pahari and specially of Kangra art which are the prime causes of our interest in this art, yet, when we proceed to study the art, our curiosity is aroused as to when and whence arose this art, how was it influenced by and how did it influence other schools and forms of art? These are large questions which require long and protracted and arduous study before they can be answered satisfactorily. Nevertheless past writers may have thrown some light on them and it will be our task to analyse their views and to endeavour to formulate our own, though we are fully conscious of our own shortcomings and feel, in all humility, that we cannot hope to make any contribution of value to the solution of these intricate problems.

Let us first consider what this Pahari School is? Pahari painting comprises the work of the artists of Basohli and Jammu in Kashmir, of the Punjab Himalayan states of Kangra, Nurpur and Chamba, of Mandi and Suket in the Simla Hills and of Tehri Garhwal in

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[2] *Ibid.*

the United Provinces. Of these, Kangra had been famous from early times and is even mentioned in the Mahabharata. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it grew in importance and became the most powerful and the richest of the Hill States. On account of its great antiquity as a centre of Hindu culture, in addition to its political importance, it enjoyed a distinction to which the other states could not aspire. Kangra, too, was, as French has termed it, the culture centre of Pahari painting, though the art of Basohli was older.

Perhaps the earliest reference to Pahari painting is to be found in a book published in London just over a hundred years ago: Moorcroft and Trebeck's Travels in the Himalayas. Moorcroft relates that he visited the court of Sansar Chand (1766—1823 A.D.), the Katoch Raja of Kangra, the leading Hill State of the Panjab, and found that he was a patron of indigenous artists and possessed a large collection of pictures of mythological subjects and portraits of rulers of the Hill States and some of these he had inherited. Two facts are clear from this: that Kangra was a centre of art and that the art of the Hill States went back to earlier times than the eighteenth century. The Kangra Gazetteer, originally published in the early eighties of the last century, was the first publication in which it was stated that this class of painting was known as the "Kangra *Kalam*". Percy Brown had acquired in the early years of the present century a large number of paintings of this "Kangra *Kalam*" for the Lahore Museum and described them as belonging to the "Kangra School," as we find from the 'Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum' by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, published in 1909. This museum, which had been opened a year before, contained a collection of paintings by local artists as well as by artists of the neigh-

bouring states which had belonged to Raja Sir Bhuri Singh of Chamba, the founder of the museum. Vogel writes thus of Pahari art in his 'Catalogue': "From the Indo-Mughal art, which was largely influenced from Persia and to a certain extent also from Italy, sprang a new school of painting which flourished in the eighteenth century at the courts of the Hindu princes of the Panjab Hills and afterwards at that of the famous Sikh King Ranjit Singh."[3]

The study of Rajput painting as a branch of Indian art began with Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, who brought to light before amazed art lovers the glories of an old art which had long been neglected and despised and was almost forgotten in its homeland, largely due to a change of taste in a materialistic and westernised age.

We have seen above Vogel's account of the origin of Pahari art. A modification of his view, which now practically holds the field, may be called the "emigration theory." It was thus set down in Percy Brown's 'Indian Painting'. After stating that "Delhi, Agra and Lahore all maintained at different times during the seventeenth century their local styles of painting, much of which was Rajput in its character," Brown goes on to say: "Then came the bigotry of the Emperor Aurangzeb, which disintegrated the artistic community built up by his predecessors, and caused it to scatter in detached units over various parts of the country."[4] He refers to Lucknow, Hyderabad (Deccan) and Patna. We agree as regards Lucknow and Patna, in both of which a degenerate and lifeless form of Mughal art thrived, but demur as regards Hyderabad, where a distinctive style had formed much earlier. Brown then goes on to say: "But the most virile offshoot of the Rajput school manifested itself in a group

[3] Vogel, J. Ph., Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum, p. 13.

[4] Brown, Percy, Indian Painting, pp. 57-58.

of small States in the Punjab Himalayas, where a distinct style of painting is observed.''

Here then we have the emigration theory clearly stated—that the painting of the hill states was an offshoot of the Rajput style and that a distinct style of painting arose, apparently since the emigration or the disintegration of the artistic community of Delhi in Aurangzeb's time. We feel diffident about each of these propositions. French,[5] in 'Himalayan Art,' goes further and finds that there was a brief period in which Kangra art was very Mughal—that was immediately after the Rajput painters came to the courts of the hill chiefs. It seems to us that too much reliance has been placed on this emigration theory and it has been made to appear as if all Pahari art was the product of those Rajput artists who had fled to the courts of the hill chiefs; if that was the case, how are we to account for the fundamental differences in style of the several Pahari schools, even after the influx of these artists? We are unable to believe that Himalayan art grew out of Rajasthani or Mughal art or that the Rajasthani painters who may have flocked to the courts of the hill chiefs in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century could have created the Kangra style or any other Pahari style, either by a sudden inspiration or even that they could have evolved the style by any process of gradual development from Rajput painting, meaning thereby Rajasthani painting, or from Mughal painting, as French states, though, to do him justice, he qualifies his statement by saying that "the assimilation and conjunction of Mughal style and Hindu spirit which was the secret of the beautiful school of Hindu art, known as the Kangra Valley'' proceeded after the first Mughal phase. To understand Pahari art one must refer to non-Pahari art standards.

[5] French, J. C., *op. cit.*, p. 34.

Viewed by such standards it becomes apparent how little Pahari art resembles or is indebted to either Mughal or Rajasthani art, which latter was profoundly influenced by Mughal art, although Mughal art itself was the product of the coalescence of Persian and Rajasthani art, the Persian element preponderating in the beginning but gradually fading out.

Now let us consider whether the earliest Pahari paintings show any traces of direct Mughal inspiration? Their imagery is different; their style totally different. As regards the Rajput link, it is quite conceivable that the Pahari artists inherited the conceptions and methods and were inspired by among other themes the stock legends and traditions of their race, which went back to their ancestors, who had spread throughout Rajasthan and in adjoining lands, but their actual treatment of these very same themes shows an originality which confounds any theory of the replantation on a new soil of an old art. A comparison between Pahari and Rajasthani painting of the early eighteenth or even mid-eighteenth century, such as one can make from our illustrations 3 and 4, reveals a difference in types and poses and a pervading charm in Pahari, in this case Kangra, art, which makes the contemporary Rajput painting with all its dignity of style seem stiff and formal. It requires but little experience to discriminate between the two. On the other hand, Mughal painting in the eighteenth century so combines and fuses with the Rajput, that what one critic would call Rajput showing Mughal influence, another would not hesitate to characterise as late Mughal. It would, however, be idle to deny that in Pahari, especially Kangra painting, of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, in the painting of the landscape portion of pictures, there is a mingling of Mughal and even European elements, but the effect is always charming.

Goetz once suggested that "Pahari painting, perhaps together with Taranath's Kashmir school, was separated at a relatively early date from the School of the Ancient West, and evolved on the basis of material originating somewhere between the Pala and Jaina miniature styles, and perhaps near to that of the Vasant-Vilasa MS. On the other hand, after this, apparently influences proceeding from the Mughal court tended to the elimination of old forms and the formation of a unified style in works, and later on dispensed with every trace of the past."[6] In so much as Goetz here recognised that Pahari painting went back to times earlier than the Mughal period, we are in complete agreement with him; but the stages in its development which he suggests appear a little too imaginative for our acceptance. Coomaraswamy, to whom Goetz made his suggestion, does not discuss it, but merely states that he is inclined to agree with it. We are quite averse to considering Pahari painting as a second cycle of Rajput painting, as Goetz[7] does later. Such a description is misleading and we maintain that the essentially distinctive forms and styles of the Pahari schools easily recognisable from Rajasthani painting in all the phases of that art should not be lost sight of. Even where the themes and technique are practically the same, the execution differs considerably and the spirit of the pictures is different. Inspite of the infiltration of Mughal culture, inspite of the influx of Rajput artists brought up in the Mughal tradition and inspite of their own Rajasthani traditions, the genius of Pahari painting retains the stamp of a pure Hindu indigenous art in its essence—whatever it might have borrowed has been assimilated and transformed completely.

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[6] Coomaraswamy, Catalogue, pp. 7-8.

[7] Goetz, H., "Geschicte der indischen miniaturmalerei", p. 47.

In 1929 there appeared Mr. Ajit Ghose's stimulating paper entitled "The Basohli School of Rajput Painting",[8] which aroused wide interest in this school, which, till then, had not received proper recognition. It drew forth the spontaneous praise from Dr. Coomaraswamy that it was "the most serious contribution to the classification of Rajput Paintings" since his own work. Ghose's suggestion that the primitive Rajput Raginis may after all have been the work of Pahari artists is thought-provoking. We quote from French on this subject: "Mr. Ajit Ghose has made an interesting suggestion that certain paintings of the sixteenth century which have hitherto been assigned to Rajputana really come from the Kangra Valley. I am strongly inclined to accept this view. These pictures not only have all the fierce inventiveness of design, magnificent richness of colouring, the note of power, and the spirit of the heroic age which would entitle them to such an attribution, but they are akin to the Kangra (sic) primitives which are known to us and appear to be the natural forerunners and sources of the Kangra art of later times."[9] Of course French here uses 'Kangra art' in a wide sense to embrace all Pahari art. It is an appealing suggestion, worth very serious consideration, whether after all, the art impulse which produced the primitive Rajput Raginis (a good example is reproduced here in our illustration No. 1 for comparison with the Basohli painting reproduced in our illustration No. 2) did not really come from the north—from the forerunners of Pahari art.

To sum up, Pahari painting or the art of the Himalayan valleys was an art of independent growth, a spontaneous art born in the hills, probably long anterior to the seventeenth century. In the case of Basohli, the folk art

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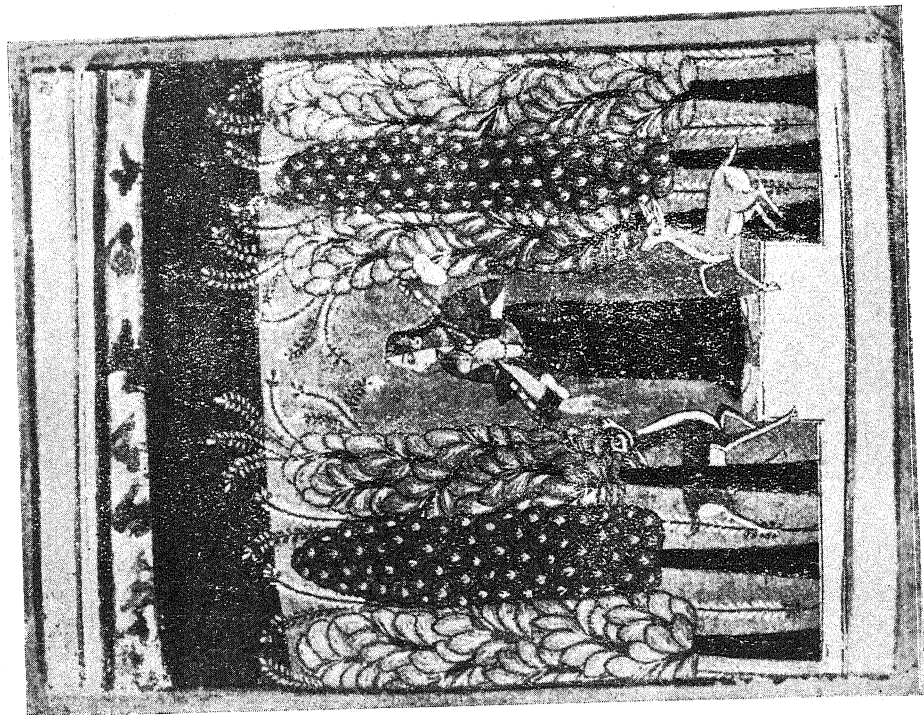
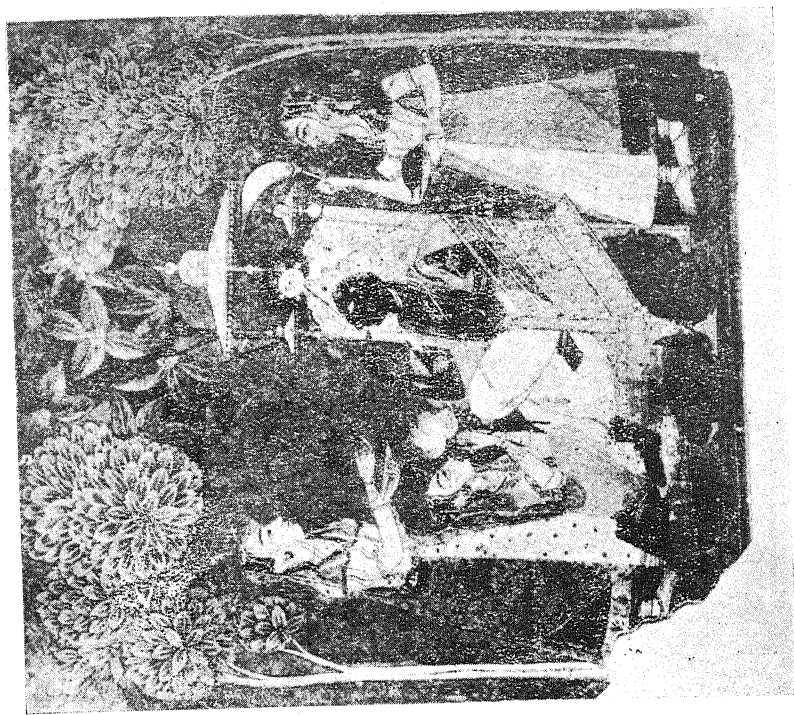
[8] Rūpam, No. 37.

[9] French, J. C., *op. cit.*, p. 105.

PLATE 1

Todi Ragini (Rajasthani School. c. 1600 A. D.)

By Courtesy of the Boston Museum

PLATE 2

Krishna and Gopis
(Basohli School, seventeenth century)

Collection J. C. French

phase is exemplified in the primitives, and, though Kangra primitives have so far not been found, an earlier phase of Kangra art cannot be ruled out. We glimpse the folk stage of Kangra art in such pictures as 'Krishna with the Flute'[10] and 'Radha and Krishna';[11] we see the robust vigour of this art of the common people in the 'Scene from a Hill story'[12] and, on the other hand, the ordered and artificial sweetness of an elegant court art in 'Siva and Parvati'.[13] The wave of Rajput influence which is said to have swept into the hills and valleys of the Punjab Himalayas left hardly any impress on Pahari art so completely was it absorbed, just as English, or rather European influence, which showed itself in the nineteenth century, was readily assimilitated. In each case the real Pahari painting remained. Pahari art is the result of a phase of Rajput culture in an environment where nature had revealed herself in the sublimity of the snows and the green of valleys and the foam of gushing torrents—an environment largely different from the sandy deserts and plains and hills of Rajasthan itself. As in their environments, so in their tastes and outlook on life there were differences between the artists of the Himalayas and their distant kinsfolk of Rajasthan.

As we began so shall we close with a word about the artistic value of Pahari art for it is this artistic value which will trail its fragrance in our mind when all discussions on other problems are laid at rest. In describing the merits and drawbacks of the school, Vogel in his 'Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum'[14] and Brown in

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[10] Coomaraswamy, Catalogue, Pl. LXXIII.

[11] *Ibid.*, Pl. LXXVIII.

[12] French, J. C., *op. cit.*, Pl. XIII.

[13] Coomaraswamy, Catalogue, Pl. LIX.

[14] Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 14,

'Indian Painting'[15] use identical words; the former are summed up as : "delicacy of line, brilliancy of colour, and minuteness of decorative detail", while the latter consist in its being not an art of "great inspiration" or of powerful "expression of thought or feeling", but "of patient labour and naive devotion". As the phrases are so felicitous, one can well excuse the strange phenomenon by which these distinguished writers on art and archaeology have unconsciously borrowed one from the other without acknowledgement. The obvious merits of this charming art have been pointed out, and when Vogel says "It is essentially a decorative art, and it is the "laughing" colours to use Dante's expression, which makes the real joy of these pictures", he refers to the beauty which the eye catches on the surface. But add to this the deep insight which Binyon displays in what we have quoted from him as to the inward beauty—an insight of which we are conscious also in French, who has given us such a fascinating picture of the country and its people and shows such a sympathetic understanding of both—and we have an estimate which balances the opinion that the art is merely "one of patient labour." On the beauty of colour of Kangra painting French says with poetic feeling: " . . . the Kangra artist had the colours of the dawn and the rainbow on his palette."[16]

In his recent writings, Coomaraswamy seems to have lost some of his early passion for Kangra painting, which he now calls a feminine art.[17] But shall we quarrel with the rose because it has not the strength of the oak or expect Venus to be endowed with the spirit of Diana? For our part, we have always loved and admired Pahari

[15] Brown, P., *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[16] French, J. C., *op. cit.*, p. 109.

[17] Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art, p. 132.

PLATE 5

Megh-malār Rag
(Rajasthani School; mid-eighteenth century)
Berlin : Museum fur Volker kunde

PLATE 4

Lady on a terrace with musicians.
(Kangra School, late eighteenth century)
By courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

painting for its refined and serene beauty and freshness, its unerring and delicate draftsmanship, its spontaneity and freedom, tenderness and grace, and its deep emotional quality, "its mystery and spirituality",[18] as French terms it, but if we have to seek for a virile and powerful art combined with a beauty of form and colour which moves our inmost soul with an awed pride that we, too, belong to the land which produced these things, we shall look beyond even the primitives of Rajput painting to a much earlier age—to Ajanta and, to a lesser degree, to Mughal art at the height of its magnificence in the closing years of Akbar's reign.

[18] French, J. C., *op. cit.*, p. 115.

BUDDHIST RULES OF DECORUM

BY

B. C. LAW, M.A., B.L., PH.D., D.LITT., F.R.A.S.B.

The text of *Pātimokkha* was to serve as a penal code for the ordained members of the Buddhist Saṅgha, male and female. But the text as we now have it either incorporated in the *Sutta-vibhaṅga* or in the form of an independent work contains 75 rules called *Sekhiyā dhammā*, which are rather out of place. The penal sections of this code are generally enumerated as six, to wit, the *Pārājika*, the *Saṃghādisesa*, the *Aniyata*, the *Nissaggiyapācittiya*, the *Pācittiya*, and the *Pāṭidesaniya*. Strictly speaking, the sections are five, the *Aniyata* belonging rather to the law of procedure applicable to those cases of dereliction where circumstantial evidence is to be relied upon in ascertaining the nature of offence or the section under which the case is to be tried. Thus the *Aniyata* itself does not constitute a penal section.

The seven *Adhikaraṇasamathā dhammā* denote the seven different and distinct modes of settling the disputes when they arise between two parties, and as such they go to constitute the Buddhist adjective law or law of procedure. The law of procedure may reasonably form an appendage to the penal code proper.

The *Sekhiyā dhammā* which are found to be 75 in number in the extant *Bhikkhu Pātimokkha*, denote so many rules of decorum to be learnt (*sikkhā karaṇīyā*) by the members of the Saṅgha. These are not rules or clauses under any penal section, inasmuch as no sanction or punishment is prescribed for their breaches or violations. The violation or non-observance of a rule of

decorum does not involve a criminal act on the part of the doer. It may just lower a person in the estimation of others,—the fellow monks and public, or may be viewed with social disapprobation. But no one would or should, as a rule, construe it as a criminal offence. Decorum means something becoming in outward appearance, propriety of conduct, decency. Thus the *Sekhiya* rules were intended to serve as those rules or precepts conforming to which the *bona fide* members of the Saṅgha might maintain the standard of decency expected of them by the Master.

There is good evidence to prove that *Pātimokkha* rules in an earlier stage of codification numbered more than 150 and less than 200 (*sādhikaṃ diyaḍḍha sikkhāpadasataṃ*).[1] The total number of the *Pātimokkha* rules as finally codified in the *Bhikkhu Pātimokkha* stands as 227. Deducting the 75 *Sekhiya* rules therefrom, we get the lesser total of 152 rules[2] which exactly meets the requirements of the earlier form of the *Pātimokkha* code.

Here the question may arise—what might be the precise *raison d'etre* for the later inclusion of the *Sekhiya* rules in the text of *Pātimokkha*. The answer thereto is not far to seek. The typical Bhikkhu of the Buddhist Saṅgha was required and expected by the Master to dwell "restrained in conduct in accordance with the *Pātimokkha* rules of restraint, endowed with good manners and customs, perceiving fear in the slightest thing to which exception might be taken, and learning and practising the precepts of conduct after formally accepting them for fulfilment."[3]

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[1] Aṅguttara Nikāya, I, p. 230 f.; Milinda Pañho, p. 143.

[2] B. C. Law, History of Pāli Literature, I, p. 2.

[3] *Idha Bhikkhu pātimokkhasaṃvara-saṃvuto viharati, ācāra-gocara-sampanno aṇumattesu vajjesu bhayadassāvī, samādāya sikkhati sikkhāpadesu.* Vibhaṅga, p. 244; Aṅguttara, I, p. 220.

The *Pātimokkha* rules are to be supplemented by the *Sekhiya*, which as will be shown below, come under the Buddhist definition of *ācāra*.

By the Pali word *ācāra* is meant just the opposite of *anācāra*. The *ācāra* stands for what is called in Sanskrit *sadācāra* or *śiṣṭācāra*, i.e., conduct or behaviour which is becoming in outward appearance, propriety of conduct, decorous behaviour, good manners. And the *anācāra* is just the opposite of such an *ācāra*. We have got the following classical definitions of *anācāra* and *ācāra* in the *Mahāniddesa*, (Pp. 228—30).

The *anācāra* is twofold, bodily and vocal. What is in this regard the bodily *anācāra* (misbehaviour)? "Here a certain person (i.e., Bhikkhu) having been in the midst of a congregation, disrespectfully stands in close contact with senior monks, sits closely, stands before (them), sits in front, sits on a higher seat, sits with his head covered with robe, speaks in a standing posture, throws out arms while he speaks, walks with shoes on while senior monks are walking barefooted, walks on the higher level of a pavilion while senior monks are walking on the lower level, walks on the pavilion while senior monks are walking on earth, stands forcing his way into the place where senior monks remain seated, sits doing the same, deprives junior monks of their seats, (by not taking the seat arranged for him), throws fuel in fire without permission while senior monks are in the bath-room, or shuts the door, walks down to the bathing place in close contact with senior monks, walks down before, bathes in close contact, bathes in front, walks up in close contact with senior monks, walks up before, goes in close contact with senior monks while entering the inner chamber, goes in front, goes on and on in front of senior monks overtaking their steps, rashly enters those restricted places of the homestead of a householder which are to be regarded as

secluded (such as rooms of confinement, bed rooms), privacies, and not ordinarily open to outsiders, or where the ladies and womenfolk of the family usually sit, rubs the head of a boy with his hand. This is called bodily *anācāra* (misbehaviour).[4] The opposite of this is *ācāra* (good bodily behaviour). "What is in this regard the vocal *anācāra* (misbehaviour)? Here a certain person (monk preaches the doctrine in disregard of senior monks, without asking their permission, answers the questions, recites the Pātimokkha rules, speaks in a standing posture, throws out arms while he speaks, entering the inner part of a house, addresses thus a woman or a maiden, 'so and so, what have you got? Is there gruel? Is there rice? Is there anything to eat? What can I drink? What can I eat hard and soft? Show me what is to be had? Thus talks at random.' "[5] The opposite of this is vocal *ācāra* (good behaviour). *Ācāra* is defined also in the following terms: "The Bhikkhu dwells regardful, following guidance, endowed with moral scruples and trepidation, well dressed, neatly attired, graceful in going and coming, looking on and looking round, contracting and stretching forth arms, with downcast eyes, endowed with gentle postures and deportments, with the doors of senses well guarded, moderate in eating, wakeful, endowed

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[4] *Mahāniddesa*, 228-29: "*Duvidho hi anācāro, kāyiko vācasiko ca. Tattha katamo kāyiko anācāro? Idhekacco saṅghagato pi acittikārakato there Bhikkhū ghaṭṭayanto pi tiṭṭhati, ghaṭṭayanto pi nisīdati; . . . yāni tāni honti kulānaṃ ovarakāni gulhāni paṭicchannāni ca yattha kulitthiyo kulakumāriyo nisīdanti tattha pi sahasā pavisati, kumārakassa pi sīsaṃ parāmasati.*" *Paṭipakkhavasena ācāro veditabbo.*

[5] *Mahāniddesa*, p. 230: "*Tattha katamo vācasiko anācāro? Idhekacco saṅghagato pi acittikarakato there Bhikkhū anāpucchāṃ . . . dhammaṃ bhanti, pañhaṃ visajjeti, pātimokkhaṃ uddisati, ṭhitako pi bhaṇati, bāhāvikkhepako pi bhaṇati . . . . . anataragharaṃ paviṭṭo itthiṃ vā kumāriṃ vā evamāha—itthaṃnāme itthaṃgotte, kiṃ atthi? . . . kiṃ vā me dassathā ti vippalapati. Ayaṃ vuccati vācasiko anācāro. Pāṭipakkhavasena ācāro veditabbo.*"

with mindfulness and awareness, desiring little, contented, energetic, lover of the rules of good conduct, and respecter of persons worthy of respect. This is called *ācāra* (good behaviour)."[6]

These Sutta definitions of *ācāra* are wide enough to cover the whole range of the *Sekhiyā dhammā* included in the scheme of Vinaya discipline. Those which are enunciated in the Sutta texts as norms, standards or principles of good conduct are sought to be realized or fulfilled in the daily life of the Buddhist brethren and sisters through a body of obligatory rules enjoined in the Vinaya books. The definitions go to indicate that the Vinaya rules of decorum, when put into practice, governed Buddhist etiquette, the word etiquette signifying the conventional laws of courtesy to be observed between members of the same confession.

Viewing the *Sekhiya* rules in the light of the Sutta definitions of *ācāra*, it becomes easy to understand that these were intended to make the members of the Saṅgha appear in their manners as gentle, polite, refined, dignified, regardful, amenable to discipline, judicious, conscientious, scrupulous, discreet, wise, subdued, graceful, neatly clad, decent looking, contented with little, moderate eater, etc., and not as ungentlemanly, impolite, ugly, undignified, regardless, arrogant, injudicious, unconscientious, uncrupulous, indiscreet, unwise, uncontrolled, shameless, ill clad, indecent looking, greedy, gluttonous, etc.

The Vinaya rules of decorum are mainly concerned with *iriyāpatha-cariyā* (*cathāro iriyāpathā*) or the culti-

[6] *Visuddhimagga*, I, p. 19: *Api ca bhikkhu sagāravo sappaṭisso hirottappa-sampanno, sunivattho supāruto, pāsādikena abhikkantena paṭikkantena ālokitena vilokitena samiñjitena pasāritena okkhittacakkhu iriyāpatha-sampanno indriyesu guttadvāro, bhojane mattaññu jāgariyam anyutto. satisampajaññena samannāgto, appiccho, santuṭṭho, āraddhaviriyo, abhisamācārikesu sakkaccakārī, garucitthikārabahulo viharati. Ayaṃ vuccati ācāro.*

vation of gentle bodily postures and noble deportments. The main bodily postures are four, namely, walking, standing, sitting and lying down as implied in the four words, *gate* (*gamanaṃ*), *ṭhite* (*ṭhānaṃ*), *nisinne* (*nisajjaṃ*),[7] and *sutte* (*seyyaṃ*). The rest, such as moving to and fro, looking out, looking round, contracting, stretching forth, dressing, eating, drinking, tasting, licking, obeying the calls of nature, waking up, speaking and keeping silence,[8] are various deportments connected with those four main postures.

The *iriyāpathas*, understood in the wider sense of the term and intended to be regulated by the *Sekhiya* rules, consist of *nivāsana* (putting on under-garment), *pārūpana* (putting on upper garment), *gamana* (walking, locomotion), *nisīdana* (sitting), *paṭiggahaṇa* (handling), *olokana* (looking), *viññāpana* (expressing), *dhammadesanā* (preaching), *bhojana* (eating), *uccāre-passāva-kheḷa-karaṇa* (obeying the calls of nature and spitting), and certain bodily movements, poses, gestures and postures.

The first two, namely, *nivāsana* and *pārūpana*, belong to the category of clothing or dressing. Full dressing on the part of a Buddhist monk consisted in putting on the robe to be folded and laid on left shoulder, holding the bowl in hands, and putting on the under-garment and the upper garment (*saṃghāṭi-patta-cīvara-dhāraṇe*). The monk was to be fully dressed in this fashion only when he went on his daily rounds for collecting alms. According to Buddhaghosa's definition, he was to be well dressed and well attired (*sunivattha supārūta*). To be well dressed or properly clad while residing in a monastery, he was required to put on his under-garment (*nivāsana*, *antara-*

[7] *Saṃyutta*, V, p. 78; *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, I, pp. 183-184.

[8] *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, p. 57. *Satipaṭṭhāna-Sutta*: *Abhikkante paṭikkante . . . ālokite vilokite . . . samiñjite pasārite saṅghāṭipattacīvara-dhāraṇe asite pite khāyite sāyite uccārapassāvakamme . . . jāgarite bhāsite tuṇhībhāve*.

vāsa) and upper garment or robe proper (*pārūpana, uttarāsaṅga, cīvara*) all around his person (*parimaṇḍalaṃ*).

The purpose of clothing was to cover the three *maṇḍaḷas* or zones, to wit, *nābhi-maṇḍala* (navel zone) and two *jānu-maṇḍalas* (knee zone).[9] The monk was to put on his under-garment all around his person so as to cover the navel and knee zones. To cover the knee zones, the under-garment was to reach down eight fingers' breadth of the shank while walking (or standing), and four fingers' breadth of the shank while sitting (or lying down), according to the old Singhalese commentary called *Mahāpaccarī*. Furthermore, the under-garment was to be of standard size, which is to say, five standard fists in length and two and a half, or at least two standard cubits in breadth. The navel zone might not be covered by the under-garment if it was shorter in breadth, since the upper garment would suffice for the purpose (*cīvareṇā pi sakkā paṭicchā-detum*). An upper garment made of double sheet of cloth (*dupaṭṭa*) was to be preferred to one of single sheet (*ekapaṭṭa*), inasmuch as the latter was less likely to be steady when donned.

To be properly clad, the monk was to see that he was well covered (*supaṭicchanna*). This might be done by covering his body, knee and thigh with his upper garment, the body including his shoulders and hands down to wrists. The head, face, neck-bone, hands below wrists, and regions of feet were to be kept uncovered. The rules of clothing as laid down in the *Vinaya Mahavagga* and *Cullavagga* were to be carefully observed so as to maintain the distinctive characteristic of the Buddhist monk's dress.

The Buddhist mode of dressing was to be distinguished, on the one hand, from those of householders or

[9] *Cullavagga*, VIII, 5. 2; Childers, *Pali Dictionary*, p. 506. *sub voce Timaṇḍalam.*

worldly men[10] and on the other, from those of different classes and sects of *religieux*.

The typical dress of the Indian hermits (*isis*, *tāpasas*, *jaṭilas*) consisted of red birch bark and antelope's skin. Both the under-garment and the upper garment were made of red birch bark, while the antelope's skin was put on to cover one shoulder.[11] This was evidently in the immediate background of the full Buddhist dress consisting of three robes (*ticīvaraṃ*).

Amongst the wandering ascetics, mendicants or recluses (*paribbājakas*, *samaṇas*), some, such as the *Ājīvikas*, the *Avadhūtas* and the *Jinakappikas* among the *Nirgranthas* (Jainas) went naked. As distinguished from them, others were clothed (*channa-paribbājakā*). Amongst those who were clothed, some put on wooden garment,[12] some skin, some garment woven of human hair, some rags and raiments,[13] and mostly wore one garment (*ekasāṭaka*);[14] some put on white garment like a

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[10] *Cullavagga*, p. 137: *na bhikkhave gihipārutam pārupitabbaṃ.*

[11] *Jātaka*, V, p. 132: *rattavākacīram nivāsetva ca pārūpitvā ca ajina-cammaṃ ekaṃsagataṃ akāsi.*

[12] *Udāna*, I, 10. Cf. the word *dārucīriyo.*

[13] The following is the detailed description of the dresses in use among the hermits and ascetics given in the Nikāyas. Cf. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, p. 230 f.

"He wears coarse hempen cloth. He wears coarse cloth of interwoven hemp and other materials. He wears cloth taken from corpses and thrown away. He wears clothing made of rags picked up from a dust heap. He wears clothing made of the bark of the *Tirītaka* tree. He wears the natural hide of a black antelope. He wears a dress made of a network of strips of a black antelope's hide. He wears a dress made of *kusa* grass fibre. He wears a garment of bark. He wears a garment made of small slips or slabs of wood pieced together. He wears, as a garment, a blanket of human hair. He wears, as a garment, a blanket made of horses' tails He wears, as a garment, a blanket made of the feathers of owls."

[14] *Saṃyutta* I, p. 78.

householder,[15] while others put on garments dyed yellow (*kāsāva*).

Nudity on the part of ascetics and recluses offended refined social taste. It was strongly resented by the womenfolk as indecent and ugly (*ahirikaṃ nissirikaṃ*).

Thus the Buddhist monk was required to be properly clad with a view to appearing in the eyes of others as a person endowed with moral scruples and sense of decency.

The rules of decorum pertaining to dressing, bodily movements, poses, gestures, postures, laughing, speaking, etc., are appropriately combined with those relating to walking and sitting, and by implication, also to standing and lying down.

First, as to dress:

Properly clad (*supaṭicchanno*) was the monk to go and sit amidst the houses. With his robes not pulled up (*na ukkhittakāya*) was he to go and sit amidst the houses. With his head uncovered (*na oguṇṭhito*) was he to go and sit amidst the houses.

Secondly, as to bodily poses, gestures, postures, and movements:

With his body under proper control (*susaṃvuto*) was he to go and sit amidst the houses. With downcast eyes (*okkhittacakkhu*) was he to go and sit amidst the houses.

Without swaying his body about (*na kāyappacālakaṃ*) was he to go and sit amidst the houses.

Without swaying his arms and head about (*na bāhuppacālakaṃ, na sīsappacālakaṃ*) was he to go and sit amidst the houses.

With arms not akimbo (*na khambhakato*) was he to go and sit amidst the houses.

Without walking on his heels or toes (*na ukkuṭikāya*) was he to go and sit amidst the houses.

[15] *Theragathā*, verse 965: '*titthiyānaṃ dhajaṃ keci dhāressanty avadātakam.*'

Thirdly, as to laughing and making sound:

Not with loud laughter (*na ujjhagghikāya*) was he to go and sit amidst the houses. Making but a little sound (*appasaddo*) was he to go and sit amidst the houses.

The rules of decorum governing the Buddhist manner of eating need some auxiliary rules to regulate the mode of handling which consists in *paṭiggahaṇa* (receiving) and *chaḍḍana* (throwing), and we have the following six rules prescribed for the purpose:

Gracefully (*sakkaccaṃ*)[16] the monk should learn to receive an alms. Fully conscious of his bowl (*pattasaññā*) should he receive an alms. With proportionate curry (*samāsūpakaṃ*)[17] should he learn to receive an alms. With proportionate dishes (*samatittikam*)[18] should he learn to receive an alms. He should learn not to take hold of water-jar with a hand soiled with food (*na sāmisena hatthena*). And he should learn not to throw into the inner court the rinsings of the bowl mixed with lumps of boiled rice (*na sasitthakam*).

Twenty-four rules of decorum are provided for the regulation of the Buddhist manner of eating as distinguished from those of the *Ājīvikas* and other Indian ascetics whose habits of life were notoriously ugly. The rules are intended to make the Buddhist monk considerate and careful, gentle and graceful, moderate and ungluttonous

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[16] Rhys Davids and Oldenberg translate the word by "with mind alert" evidently on the authority of the *Samantapāsādikā* which explains it as meaning *satiṃ upaṭṭhāpetvā*. The Sanskrit equivalent of the Pali word *sakkacca* will be *satkṛtya*, giving due consideration, gracefully (Cf. *Sakkaccaṃ anumodane*, Khuddakapāṭha, P.T.S., p. 6).

[17] Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, "With equal curry." According to the *Samantapāsādikā*, "When the curry is in quantity one-fourth of the rice."

[18] Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, "equally full," following the *Samantapāsādikā* which paraphrases the word by *samabhāritaṃ*. But the Pali *samatittikam* is evidently in Sanskrit *samatṛptikaṃ*, 'dishes in proportionate quantities.'

in eating, with due sense of propriety, proportion and decency. With due consideration (*sakkaccaṃ*) he was to learn to eat, paying attention to his bone, begging straight on from house to house (*sapadānaṃ*), with proportionate curry, without pressing down from the top, without covering up the curry or the condiment with the rice desiring to make it more palatable. He was to learn not to ask for curry or rice for his own particular use, unless he was sick. He was to learn not to look at others' bowls with envious thoughts (*Ujjhānasaññī*). The food to be taken was to be made up into round morsels and not into large balls. The door of the mouth was not to be opened until the ball was brought close. The whole hand, when eating, was not to be put into the mouth. Talking was not to be indulged in with the food in the mouth. Tossing the food into the mouth and nibbling at the balls of food, were to be avoided. The meal was to be taken without stuffing the cheeks out, shaking the hands, scattering the lumps of boiled rice, putting out the tongue, smacking the lips making a hissing sound, licking the fingers, the bowl and the lips. With this praiseworthy manner of eating may be compared and contrasted the uncouth and gluttonous habits of Brahmin and Brahmanical ascetics.[19]

Fifteen rules of decorum apply to the Buddhist manner of preaching the Doctrine. These rules were intended evidently not only to keep up the dignity of the preacher but also to avoid the awkwardness of the situation and ineffectiveness of the preaching itself. Each of

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[19] *Samantapāsādikā*, Siamese Ed., I, p. 43: *Bindusāro brāhmaṇabhatto ahosi. So brāhmaṇānañ ca brahmaṇajatiyapāsaṇḍānañ ca paṇḍaraṅgaparibbājakādinam saṭṭhisahassāmattānaṃ niccabhattaṃ paṭṭhapesi. Asoko pi pitarā pavattitaṃ dānaṃ attano antepure tatheva dadamāno ekadivasaṃ sihapañjajre ṭhito te upasamaparibāhirena ācārena bhuñjamāne asamyatindriye avinīta-iriyāpathe disvā cintesi—'idisaṃ dānaṃ upaparikkhitvā yuttaṭṭhāne dātum vaṭṭatī' ti.*

them is provided with a reasonable exception (*anupaññatti*), in the subjunctive clause *agilānassa* "unless he is sick." The doctrine was not to be generally preached to a person found with a sunshade in his hand, to a person with a staff or sword or weapon in his hand, not to be preached to a person wearing slippers or sandals, to a person seated in a cart or on a couch, and to a person lolling.

Similarly a person with a turban on his head or with his head covered was to be avoided. Himself seated on the earth the preacher was not to preach the doctrine seated on a seat; seated on a low seat, he was not to preach the doctrine to a person seated on a high seat; standing he was not to preach to a person sitting. Walking behind he was not to preach the doctrine to a person walking in front of him. And walking by the side of the path he was not to preach the doctrine to a person walking on the path. We have just three rules governing the Buddhist manner of obeying the calls of nature, such as passing stools, passing urine and spitting. Only the first of them is intended to avoid ugliness, while the remaining two are prescribed with a view to preventing the destruction of plant-life and pollution of water. According to the first rule, the monk was not to ease himself in a standing posture.

As pointed out before, the *Sekhiya* rules do not constitute any penal section of the *Pātimokkha* Code, and that as such they are rather out of place in it. The *Samantapāsādikā* and the old Singhalese Commentaries quoted in it have sought to give a distinct legal aspect to them providing *anupaññattis* or reasonable exceptions. According to these authorities the breach of a *Sekhiya* rule makes the violator liable to the *Dukhaṭa* offence, a term which is applicable to the offences not covered by the penal sections of the *Pātimokkha* Code. It is quite conceiveable that

the breach of a rule of decorum or a law of etiquette may be attended with serious consequences. But that takes place not for the mere violation of the rule. The arrogance or incorrigibility on the part of the violator may give rise to a new set of circumstances under which his action or impudence may be treated as a criminal offence.

Every religion, nay, every human institution, ancient or modern, stands for and enforces certain rules of decorum and of etiquette with a view to regulating the deportments, gestures, postures, bodily movements, dressing, eating, speaking, studying, preaching, teaching, exercising, looking, bathing and obeying the calls of nature on the part of those who belong to it or are under training. The Buddhist rules of decorum may be shown to have in their immediate literary background the rules laid down in the various Gṛhya Sūtras. It will be seen that Gṛhya Sūtras, too, speak of the four main *īryāpathas* as consisting of standing, sitting, walking and lying down, the rest being just subservient to them. Leaving aside other texts, I shall confine my observations to the Gṛhyasūtra of Śāṅkhyāyana.

First, as to sitting, Śāṅkhyāyana prescibes the following rules of decorum:

In setting forth the Veda to duly initiated students, the teacher should sit to the east or to the north, and the student to the south, with his face turned to the north. Two students should be so seated, or even more than two, if there is room for them. The student must not sit on a high seat in presence of the Guru, nor on the same seat with him, nor with outstretched feet, nor stretching his arms under his knees, nor leaning his body against a support, nor forming a lap with his feet, nor holding his feet like an axe.[20] He shall sit with

[20] *Śāṅkhyāyana*, IV, 8. 1—11.

veiled head, suspending his sacrificial cord on his ear, if he has only one garment, with his face to the north in the day-time and to the south at night, but not on the bare ground, not turning his face to the sun, nor his rump.[21]

Secondly, as to going or walking:

He shall not go to assemblies of people, walk alone, nor naked nor with veiled hands, nor run. He shall not climb up a tree. He shall not go to an execution-place, and in no case to a cemetery.[22] He is not to step between a teacher and students when they are engaged in study, nor to change his place during the recitation.[23] He must not go to a place without being invited thereto.

Thirdly, as to lying down:

He shall not lie down to sleep in the day-time, nor during the first or the last watch of the night.[24]

Fourthly, as to looking:

He shall not look at a naked woman, nor at the rising or setting sun, nor at an enemy, nor at an evil-doer, nor at a person handling dead bodies.[25] He shall not look on urine and excrements, nor look down into a well.

Fifthly, as to eating:

He shall not eat food robbed of its vitamins, nor remnants of food other than those belonging to the manes, gods, guests and the like. He is not to eat together with his wife.[26] Let him eat nothing without having cut off a portion thereof and offered as a *bali*. Let him not eat alone, nor before others.[27]

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[21] *Ibid.*, IV, 12, 20—25.
[22] *Ibid.*, IV, 12.
[23] *Śāṅkhyāyana*, IV, 8.
[24] *Ibid.*, IV, 11.
[25] *Ibid.*, IV, 11.
[26] *Ibid.*, IV, 11.
[27] *Ibid.*, II, 14.

Sixthly, as to courtesy:

Everyday he shall respectfully salute his teacher, and his *gurus*, and a *Śrotriya* when meeting him, even one who is not a *Śrotriya* on return from a journey, pronouncing his own name in the words, "I am N. N., Sir!" and crossing his hands so as to seize with his right hand the right foot, and with his left hand the left of the person saluted. The person thus saluted is to address him with his name, "N. N. !" and to pronounce a wish to him, seizing his hands.[28]

Seventhly, as to bathing:

He shall bathe day by day with his clothes on, and when he has bathed, he shall put on another garment before he is dry. He shall not eject phlegm into water, nor in the neighbourhood of water, nor shall he spit.[29]

Eighthly, as to the recitation of the Veda:

He is to stop the Veda recitation for specified days on the following, among other occasions:

If a death or birth of relations has taken place, when the teacher has died or he has heard of it, on the death of those whose family head he is, on the death of a fellow student, when he has followed the funeral of a dead person, on a burial ground, in a wilderness, on seeing forbidden sights, on hearing forbidden sounds, on smelling a foul smell, on a carriage road, while going in a chariot, having climbed up a tree, having descended into a pit, while immersed in water, while anybody cries, while he is naked, while impure with remnants of food, on the occasion of the shaving of the hair and the beard until his bath, while being rubbed, while bathing, while being anointed, and while suffering bodily pain, with

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28 *Ibid.*, IV, 12.

29 *Ibid.*, IV, 12, 26. 30-31.

veiled hands, in an army, or in presence of a Brahmin who has not had his meal.[30]

Ninthly, as to speaking and talking:

In asking the teacher to recite the Veda, the student shall gently say, "Recite, Sir!" The teacher causing him to pronounce the syllable *OM*, he is to reply, uttering *OM*. When the teacher has recited, he is to leave the place, saying, "We have finished, Sir!"[31]

When in the midst of an assembly, he shall not point out anything evil against anybody. He is not to be a reviler, nor a slanderer, nor a wanderer from house to house, nor a prattler.[32] He is not to talk with a woman who is recently confined or has her courses, nor with other undesirable persons.[33]

Tenthly, as to dressing:

He shall put on an under-garment and an upper garment, a new garment which has not been washed at the time of initiation. He is also to wear a girdle, and to use a staff. He shall not leave a passage between himself and the staff. He shall also put on the sacrificial cord, and make with ashes the *tripuṇḍra* sign on his forehead.[34]

The Jain rules of conduct as laid down in the Ācārāṅga Sūtra contain also the rules of decorum and of etiquette. As there are no penal laws added to them, these rules of conduct may all in a sense be treated as rules of decorum and of etiquette. But they are sufficiently elaborate and justified by reasons, while in the case of the Buddhist rules of conduct and of decorum, the reasons are just implied in the set of circumstances under which they were introduced and enforced.

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[30] *Śāṅkhyāyana*, IV, 7.
[31] *Ibid.*, IV, 8, 12, 16.
[32] *Ibid.*, IV, 12, 10-11.
[33] *Ibid.*, IV, 11, 6-7.
[34] *Ibid.*, II, 1 *et seq.*

The Jain rules are classified in the Ācārāṅga Sūtra under such general heads as begging, walking, modes of speech, entry into others' possessions, postures, place of study, and attending to the calls of nature. Here begging includes the begging of food and drink, begging for a bowl, the begging of clothes, and begging for a residence or a couch. Under these subheads are to be found the rules governing the modes of eating and drinking, dressing, and lying down. Walking includes travelling, crossing, swimming, and other forms of movement. The postures are those which are involved in religious exercises.

The reasons or arguments behind these rules are based on such general principles as the avoidance of situations in which the monk or nun may be guilty of hurting or killing all forms of life, or of inconveniencing others, or of wounding social, moral or religious scruples of others, the avoidance of situations in which the monk or nun may run the risk of endangering his or her own position, or of receiving bodily injuries, or of feeling discomfort, or of being found guilty of theft or trespass, or of moral degradation, or of mental perturbation, and the avoidance of all situations in which the monk or nun may be found acting under the slightest influence of greed, ill-will, evil intention, discontent, delusion, inconsideration, haughtiness, and the like.

First, as to dressing and begging of clothes:

The full dress of a Jain monk consisted of two linen under-garments and one woollen upper garment. Among other requisites, he was to possess an almsbowl with six articles belonging to it, a broom (*rajoharaṇa*) and a veil for the mouth (*mukha-vatthikā*). At the advent of the hot season he was to leave off the used up garment of the three and to be clad with an upper and under-garment or with the undermost garment, or with one gown, or with no clothes.[35] If a monk were youthful, young, strong

and healthy, he might wear one robe, and not two. In the case of a nun, she was to have four raiments, one two cubits broad, two three cubits broad, one four cubits broad, the first to wear in the cloister, the second and third for out-of-door, the fourth for assemblies.[36]

A mendicant who is provided with three robes, shall not beg for a fourth robe; which is provided with two robes, shall not beg for a third robe; who is provided with one robe, shall not beg for a second robe.

In begging for clothes, a mendicant may specify their quality so that they may be pure and acceptable to him. He shall ask for those clothes which he has well inspected as to their purity and acceptability. He shall ask for those clothes which at the moment are not wanted or meant for others. He shall ask for only those clothes which may be spared immediately.

Properly and fully dressed, a mendicant shall enter the abode of a householder for the sake of alms and go to the out-of-door place for religious practices or study, and wander from village to village. During heavy showers, however, he shall not be fully dressed. Even in face of all dangers, he shall not part with clothes, leave the road or take another path but unperturbed and with his mind not directed to outward things and circumspectly he shall wander about in the country.

These are quite in accord with the Buddhist rules of conduct and decorum. Among those which are in conflict with the Buddhist, the first and foremost is that which permits a mendicant going naked. The second objectionable rule from the Buddhist point of view is that a Jain mendicant is to wear the clothes in that state in which he receives them from the donor, and not to wash

[35] *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, S.B.E., Vol. XXII, I, 7, 4—7.
[36] *Ibid.*, II, 5, 1.
[37] *Ācārāṅga*, I. 7. 4. 1; II. 5. 1. 17; II, 5, 2, 1.

or dye them, nor is he to wear washed or dyed clothes, nor to hide his (dirty) clothes when passing through other villages, being careless of dress. He is not to wash his clothes, rub or wipe them with ground drugs, nor to clean or wash them in plentiful water, because they are not new.[37]

The ugly habits of the Jain mendicants are evident from the explanation offered in the *Ācārāṅga sūtra* which says, "Some householders are of clean habits and the mendicants, because they never bathe, are covered with uncleanliness; they smell after it, they smell badly, they are disagreeable, they are loathsome."[38]

Secondly, as to eating and begging of food and drink:

A mendicant shall not eat or accept food or drink which is impure and forbidden. The impure food is that which is placed on a post or pillar or beam or scaffold or loft or platform or roof or some such-like elevated place, that which is kept in earthenware, that which is kept on the earth-body, the wind-body, and the fire-body, that which is cooled by blowing or fanning, and that which is placed on vegetable or animal matter.[39]

The impure drink is the water which has been used for watering flour or sesamum or rice, or which has been recently used for washing, which has not acquired a new taste, nor altered its taste or nature, nor has been strained.[40]

The forbidden food consists of the juice of fruits, raw things that contain the slightest trace of life in them, meat and fish diet, and the food which is wanted by or meant for others.

The forbidden drink includes all kinds of alcohol. A mendicant on a begging tour shall not go to a festival,

[38] *Ibid.*, II, 2, 2, 1.
[39] *Ibid.*, II, 1, 7.
[40] *Ibid.*, II, 1, 7.

preceded or followed by an entertainment, to partake of it, knowing that there will be served up chiefly meat or fish, nor to a wedding breakfast, nor to a funeral dinner, or to a family dinner.[41]

A mendicant on a begging tour shall not stand leaning against the door-post of the householder's abode, or his sink or spitting pot, nor in sight of, or opposite to his bathroom or privy, nor should he contemplate a loophole or a mended spot or a fissure of the house or the bathing house, showing in that direction with an arm or pointing with a finger, bowing up and down.[42]

He shall not beg, pointing with a finger at the householder or moving him with a finger, threatening or scratching him with a finger, praising or cursing him.[43]

Thirdly, as to walking:

A mendicant shall circumspectly wander from village to village. He shall look forward for four cubits, and seeing animals, he shall move on by walking on his toes or heels or the sides of his feet, or shall choose some by-path. He shall avoid treading on living beings, seeds, grass, water or mud. He shall not choose the road which lies through places belonging to borderers, robbers, etc.

In crossing a river, he shall circumspectly enter the boat with the owner's permission. He shall not choose the stern or the prow or the middle of the boat, nor should he look at it holding up his arms, pointing at it with his finger, bowing up and down. On getting into the boat, he shall step apart, examine his dress, put aside his provender, and wipe his body from head to heels. While swimming in the water, he shall not dive up and down, lest water will

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[41] *Ibid.*, II, I, 4, 1.

[42] *Ibid.*, II, 1, 4, 1.

[43] *Ibid.*, II, 1, 6, 3.

enter into his ears, eyes, nose or mouth, nor shall he touch another person's hand, foot or body with his own.

He shall not wipe or rub or brush or stroke or dry or warm or heat his body in the sun before the water on his body has dried up and the moisture is gone.

He shall not travel, conversing with householders. If he comes across a shallow water, he shall circumspectly wade through it. With his feet soiled with mud, he shall not walk out of the way and destroy the grass by treading or trampling.

Fourthly, as to sleeping:

Having spread a perfectly pure bed or couch a mendicant shall circumspectly use it, wiping first his body from head to heels. While sleeping, he shall take care that his bed or couch is kept at such a distance from that of the next person that he does not touch his neighbour's hand, foot or body with his own. Before inhaling or exhaling, coughing or sneezing, yawning or vomitting or eructating, he shall cover his face or the place where it lies.[44]

Fifthly, as to speaking:

He shall speak with precision, employing language in moderation and restraint, which is grammatically correct, and understanding its true import. He shall use true and accurate speech, which is not sinful, blameable, rough and harsh. If in addressing a man, he does not respond, he shall not say, "You loon! You lout! You Śūdra! You low-born wretch! or the like." It is better for him to say, "O long-lived one! O faithful one! O lover of truth! or the like."[45]

A mendicant, seeing any sort of diseases shall not talk of them in this way: "He has got boils or leprosy,

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[44] Ācārāṅga, II, 2, 3, 26—28.

[45] *Ibid.*, II, 4, 1.

his hand is cut, or his foot, nose, ear or lip is cut." Seeing any sort of good qualities, he shall speak thus: "He is strong, powerful, vigorous, famous, well-formed, well-proportioned, handsome."[46]

Sixthly, as to attending to the calls of nature:

A mendicant shall ease nature on the ground which is well inspected and cleaned, and which is not infected by eggs or living beings. He shall not ease nature on a pillar or bench or scaffold or loft or tower or roof, nor on a bare ground, the wet ground, the dusty ground, nor on a rock or clay containing life, etc. He shall take his own chamber-pot or that of somebody else, and going apart with it, he is to ease nature in a secluded place where no people pass or see them, and leave the excrements on a heap of ashes etc.[47]

The instances need not be multiplied. Those cited are enough to show that the Jain rules of conduct and of decorum, agreeing in their essential features with the Buddhist rules, were broadbased upon careful considerations and keen observations. A comparative study of these rules as enforced by different religions of India and of the world is sure to yield many fruitful results, which, however, is far beyond the scope of the present article.

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[46] *Ibid.*, II, 4, 2, 1-2.
[47] *Ibid.*, II, 10.

"THE SANGAMA DYNASTY AND CEYLON."

BY

DR. T. V. MAHALINGAM, M.A., D.LITT.,

Lecturer in History, Madura College, Madura.

The luxuriant and beautiful island of Ceylon, "the pearl-drop on the brow of India," has not been a mere appendage of India through the ages. It has a history of its own, though it is one of the most unfortunate countries whose independence has ever been at stake owing to frequent foreign invasions. On account of its proximity to the mainland of India it has had a continuous history of political, cultural and social contact with the latter in general and more particularly with South India from very early times. From the days of the Sangama period, the South Indian powers, the Cōlas and the Pāndyas as well as the Cēras interfered with the affairs of Ceylon. It was not infrequently that the Ceylonese Kings invited trouble to themselves by siding with one or other of the South Indian powers who were frequently quarrelling among themselves. Tamilian settlements were founded in Ceylon; South Indian systems of Government influenced the administrative institutions of the island; the South Indian style of architecture was introduced in it, and thus the northern part of the island was practically Tamilised.

In the early years of the second half of the fourteenth century Kumāra Kampana, the son of Bukka I conquered a good part of South India for the newly founded kingdom of Vijayanagar. After tāking the Sambuvaraya country in A.D. 1361-62, he defeated the Muslims at Kaṇṇanūr near Trichinopoly, came into conflict with Quarbat Hasan Kāngw, the Sultān of Madura, defeated and killed him in battle in 1371, captured the fort of Madura, incorporated

that region with the Vijayanagar dominions and thereby put an end to the independent Sultanat of Madura which lasted for about 48 years, having been founded in 1334. After the conquest of the Madura country Kampaṇa ruled the area from Madura itself, he being "pleased to conduct the rule of the earth on a permanent throne."[1] On his death in 1374[2] he seems to have been succeeded to the provincial governorship by his son Jammana Udaiyār, also known as Empana and Yammana and himself by a nephew of his Porkaśuḍaiyār.[3] Of the two however the former alone is known to epigraphy. Harihara II's (1376-1404) supremacy was recognised in South India. But about A.D. 1385 South India appears to have got out of the control of Vijayanagar. Hence Virūpākṣa, a son of Harihara II, again brought the Tuṇḍira, Cōlā and Pāṇḍya countries under the control of Vijayanagar and ruled over them.[4] But we do not know the exact circumstances and the course of the reconquest of South India by the Vijayanagar Prince.

It was about this time that Vijayanagar came into close contact with Ceylon, whose ruler was then Bhuvanaika Bāhū (1372-1406). While giving a descriptive account of Vijayanagar the Muslim historian Firishta observes that "The Rajas of Malabar, Ceylon and other countries kept ambassadors at his court and sent annually rich presents"[5]. But this statement cannot be interpreted as indicating the subordination of Ceylon to the supremacy of Vijayanagar, for, firstly, the maintenance of permanent ambassadors by one court in another was

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[1] *M.E.R.*, 18 of 1899.

[2] *M.E.R.*, 573 of 1902.

[3] Nelson, *Madura Country*, III, p. 82.

[4] *E.I.*, III, p. 228; *E.I.*, VIII, pp. 298—306; *Alampūṇḍi* and Soraikkāvūr plates.

[5] Briggs, *Firishta*, II, pp. 377-8.

not known in ancient and mediaeval India,[6] and secondly there is no literary or epigraphical evidence to show that Ceylon had actually been conquered by Vijayanagar by that time. Therefore it could have been only a friendly embassy, as the one sent in 1374 by Bukka I of Vijayanagar to the court of Taitsu, the King-Emperor of China with tributes and large presents.[7]

But the first actual invasion of Ceylon on behalf of Vijayanagar was underaken by Virūpākṣa the son of Harihara II in 1385. The Ālampūṇḍi plates of Vīrūpākṣa mention that besides conquering the Cōla, and Pāṇḍyan countries, he conquered the people of Ceylon and brought booty to his father which were in the shape of crystals and other jewels.[8]

This is corroborated by literary evidence. Prince Virūpākṣa, in his drama Nārāyaṇī Vilāsam, claims to have set up a pillar of victory in the island of Simhala (Ceylon)[9].

Nuniz also refers to the conquest. Referring to one "Ajarao", probably a corruption of the full name Virūpākṣa Rāya, he says that he took "Goa, and Chaul, and Dabull and Ceillao, and all the country of Charmandell, which had also rebelled after the first of destruction of this kingdom"[10].

Ceillao is certainly a reference to Ceylon. It may be noted however that the mention of the conquest of Ceylon

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[6] See *Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar*—by the author. (Madras University), p. 172.

[7] Bretachnedier, *Mediaeval Researches*, Vol. II, p. 211.

Ind. Ant., Vol. XL, p. 140.

[8] *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 228.

[9] Dr. S. K. Ayyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, (Madras University), p. 53.

[10] Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 301; the suggestion of Sewell that by "Aja Rao" Nuniz means two kings, Bukka II and his brother Dēvā Rāya I appears to be a mistake. See *ibid.*, p. 51.

by the Vijayanagar King is only an exaggerated account of the conquest of the small island of Jaffna lying close to the northern part of Ceylon. But the island does not seem to have been retained by the Vijayanagar sovereign. The Nallūr grant of Harihara II of 1399 which credits him with such imperial titles as Pūrvapaśchimadakṣina sāmudrādhīśvara does not make any reference to Ceylon. This gives an indication of the possibility of the island conquered in 1385 having gone out of the control of Vijayanagar by that time. Evidently the conquest of Virūpākṣa was only a short-lived affair.

We do not hear of the relations between Vijayanagar and Ceylon again till we come to the days of Dēvarāya II. According to Nuniz "in his (Deva Raya's) time the king of Coullao (Quilon) and Ceyllao (Ceylon) and Paleacate (Pulicat) and Pegu and Tenacary (Tenasserim) and many other countries paid tribute to him".[11] When exactly Ceylon was reconquered for Vijayanagar is difficult to explain unless we correlate such an achievement claimed by Vijayanagar with a similar claim made simultaneously by the Paṇḍyan ruler of the period Arikēśari Parākrama Paṇḍya.

The then Ceylon King was Parākrama Bāhu VI (1412-1468) of the Kotte dynasty. An inscription of Ś 1357 (A.D. 1435) states that Lakkaṇṇa Daṇṇāyaka Uḍaiyar one of the ministers of Dēva Rāya II fitted out a cavalry force for destroying Jyāḷpānam, Napatamanam (Napaṭṭaṇam) and Iḷam and for the success of same an endowment was made as Samudrayātrādāna.[12] The expedition seems to have met with success for we find that in A.D. 1438 Lakkaṇṇa assumed the title of Dakṣiṇa Samudrādhipati[13] and Dēva Rāya II himself took the

[11] Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 302.
[12] *South Ind. Ins.*, VII, No. 778.
[13] *M.E.R.*, 141 of 1903; S.I.I., VIII, No. 428.

title of Ilam Tirai Koṇḍa, (one who took tribute from Ceylon).[14] Further comtemporary Ceylonese poems refer to the people of Jaffna as Kanarese, and this is corroborated by the evidence of Valentyen who mentions an invasion of Ceylon by the Kanarese.[15]

The history of the later Pāṇḍyas is not clearly known, particularly after their retirement to Tinnevelly. "The history of the later Pāṇḍyas of Tinnevelly is the story of a more or less steady decline, punctuated by a few feeble attempts at revival ending in the final disappearance of the dynasty towards the close of the sixteenth or early in th the seventeenth century."[16]

But there appeared among them certain able rulers who in their linked sphere distinguished themselves in war and peace. Among them Arikēśari Parākrama Paṇḍya (1422-63) was one. He ruled over the modern Tiṇṇevelly district and some parts of the Travancore state. He is credited with several victories over his enemies at various battle-fields. An inscription of his in the Viśvanāthasvāmi temple at Teṇkāśi says that he saw "the backs of his enemies (in the battles fought) at Śingai, Anurai, Jrāśai, Śeṇbai, Vindai, Mudalai, Vīrai and Vaippāru.[17]

According to another epigraph of his he is said to have come out successful in the battle at Vindai.[18]

Śenbai appears to have been a scene of action against the Cēra ruler.[19]

Codrington identifies the two places Śingai and Aruṇai with the capitals of Jaffna and Ceylon.[20] Thus Arikēśari

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[14] *M.E.R.*, 144 of 1916; see also 128 of 1901.

[15] Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, p. 92.

[16] K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pandyan Kingdom*, p. 247.

[17] *Trav. Arch. Series* I, Vol. II; *M.E.R.*, 4 of 1912.

[18] Tra. Ar. S., III, pp. 95—8.

[19] *Ibid.*, XII, V, 10.

[20] *A Short History of Ceylon*, p. 92.

Parākrama seems to have been successful both against the Kērala and Ceylonese rulers.

Such a claim to the conquest of the island made by two contemporary rulers cannot have any significance unless we are able to correlate the relationship that existed at the time between the Vijayanagar house and the crippled Pāṇḍyan dynasty. Though some scholars think that the claim made by Arikēsari Parākrama Pāṇḍya to success in various battles is too boastful to be believed.[21] Yet there appears to be some truth in it. After the conquest of Madura by Kumāra Kampaṇa the territory appears to have continued to be ruled by the weakened Pāṇḍyas who recognised the supremacy of and owed allegiance to the imperial house of Vijayanagar. We get only conflicting accounts of a traditional nature about the reason for and the manner of the restoration of the Pāṇḍyas to the rulership of the Madura country. In spite of apparent contradictions we may believe that the Pāṇḍyas were restored to their position subject to their acceptance of the supremacy of Vijayanagar. The most powerful of the Pāṇḍyan rulers of the 15th century was Arikēśari Parākrama Pāṇḍya, who appears to have taken part in the Ceylonese campaigns of Lakkaṇṇa Daṇṇāyaka as a loyal feudatory of the Vijayanagar house. Hence it is that he also records his achievements in battles in Ceylon.

But the success of Vijayanagar over Ceylon gained about A.D. 1435 appears, like the previous ones, to have been only a short-lived affair. It was probably after the assertion of independence by the Ceylonese that, according to Valentyn, an expedition was undertaken by the Ceylonese to Adriampet (Adhirampaṭṭinam, Tanjore Dt.) apparently in retaliation of the capture by South

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[21] C. Rasanayagam—Ancient Jaffna, p. 367.

Indians of Ceylonese ships laden with cinnamon.[22] Therefore in order to assert the supremacy of Vijayanagar over Ceylon, another expedition was called for, towards the close of the reign of Dēva Rāya II. Abdur Razzāk who visited Vijayanagar in 1442-43 says that the Danaik (Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka) had gone on a voyage to the frontiers of Ceylon.[23] It is possible that, since Lakkaṇṇa Daṇṇāyaka is said to have gone on a voyage to the frontiers of Ceylon, he could have recognised only the small island of Jaffna and the northern portions of Ceylon. Perhaps before he could pursue his success into the interior he was called back to the imperial headquarters. Describing the extent of the empire of Dēva Rāya II, in 1442-43 'Abdul Razzāk says that it extended "from the borders of Saraṇḍi to those of Gulburga and from Bengal to Malabar a space of more than 1,000 parasangs."[24]

From this description it does not follow that during the time of Abdur Razzāk's visit to the court of Dēva Rāya II Ceylon formed part of the Vijayanagar Empire. But there can be no doubt about the fact that Dēva Rāya II collected tribute from the ruler of Ceylon at least for sometime during his reign.

We do not know anything about the relations that existed between Vijayanagar and Ceylon during the weak rule of Mallikārjuna and Virūpāksa. It is quite possible that Ceylon continued to be independent of Vijayanagar during the period and paid no tribute to her.

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[22] H. W. Codrington, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[23] Elliot and Dawson, *History of India as told by her own historians*, IV, p. 105; *M.E.R.*, 1904-05, par. 58; Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

[24] Elliot and Dawson, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

ŚRĪKSHETRA—A HINDU COLONIAL KINGDOM IN BURMA

BY

R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D.

§1. *The beginnings of Hindu colonisation in Burma.*

It is a well-known fact that since the beginning of the Christian era, if not earlier still, the Hindus,—taking the expression in the widest sense so as to include all people of India apart from their religious profession,—had been setting up colonies in various parts of Indo-China and the islands of the Indian Archipelago. This colonial movement was due to the same causes, and followed more or less the same processes, as we have witnessed in more recent times, particularly in regard to European colonies. But there was an essential difference. The Hindu colonists settled among the people of their adopted country, and did not maintain racial aloofness, or form so many outposts for the extension of political or military power of the motherland. They were lured by considerations of trade and commerce or urged by missionary activity or a spirit of military adventure, but once they were settled in the new land, they merged themselves into, and became part and parcel of, the indigenous people. Instead of using the colonies as fields for exploitation and enrichment of their own country, the Hindu colonists used these as so many bases for spreading Indian culture and civilisation in all its aspects. While they thus moulded the native peoples by the introduction of a higher culture, they themselves were slowly transformed by close contact with

them, and were ultimately absorbed in them without leaving any distinctive trace of their existence as a separate racial unit. But although they were thus dissolved into the native elements, the relics of Hindu civilisation introduced by them such as art literature, religion and social ideas, have kept alive the memory of that vast colonial enterprise which forms such a brilliant episode in the history of India.

Burma, being the nearest to India, and accessible both by land and sea, was probably colonised by the Hindus at a very early period. As there were Hindu colonies in Malay Peninsula and Cambodia in the first and second centuries A.D. it may be held on general grounds that Hindu colonisation in Burma dates from an earlier period. Unfortunately, positive evidence is lacking and we have to rely, for the beginnings of Hindu colonisation in Burma, mostly on local traditions and inferences from archaeological remains of a later date.

The Burmese chronicles record stories of Indian colonisation even before the birth of Gautama Buddha. But these texts were composed in the eighteenth century though they certainly incorporated older traditions. The antiquity of the Hindu colonisation is supported in a general way by the identification of Ptolemy's place-names, which may be reasonably located in Burma, with traditional Hindu localities, the occurrence of isolated Brāhmī letters in some records, and the reference to large Buddhist settlements in Burma in Chinese chronicles of the third century A.D., but we have no reliable account of its early history. The beginnings of Indian colonisation in Burma, as in the rest of Indo-China, are thus shrouded in darkness and are merely echoed in local legends. These legendary accounts of early Indian immigrants into Burma are many and varied in character, and have been recorded in local chronicles which we possess quite a large number.

The most widely accepted legends about Indian settlements in Burma may be summed up as follows :—[1]

Abhirāj, a prince of the Śākya clan of Kapilāvastu marched with an army to Upper Burma, founded the city of Sankissa (Tagaung) on the Upper Irawadi, and set himself up as the king of the surrounding region. After his death the kingdom was divided in two parts. The elder ruled over Arakan and the younger over Tagaung. Thirty-one generations of kings ruled over Tagaung when the kingdon was overthrown by tribes coming from the east. About this time, when Gautama was still alive, a second band of Kshatriyas from the Gangetic valley in India arrived in Upper Burma under Daza Raja (Daśarāja). He occupied the old capital and married the widow of its last king. After sixteen generations of kings of the second dynasty had ruled, the kingdom of Tagaung was overrun by foreign invaders, who dethroned the king.

The elder son of this king had a miraculous escape and founded a new kingdom with his capital near modern Prome. His son Dutta Baung founded the great city of Thare Khettara (Śrīkshetra) nearby and made it his capital. Eighteen kings ruled after him till 84 A.D. when a civil war broke out. Of the three constituent tribes Pyu, Kanran and Mramma, the first two fought for supremacy for eleven years. The Pyu having gained the contest by an artifice, the Kanran went off to Arakan. The Pyu themselves were shortly after defeated by the Mons or Talaings of the south, and after wandering in various regions founded the city of Pagan and settled there. After this the chronicles do not mention the separate tribes and the name Mramma, from which is derived the modern name Burma, appears as the national designation of the people as a whole.

[1] For the legends, cf. G. E. Harvey—*History of Burma*; A. Phayre—*History of Burma; The Glass Palace Chronicle*, translated by Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce.

According to this legend the Pyue tribes[2] ruled over a powerful kingdom with its capital, first at Śrīkshetra, near Prome, and then at Pagan. Fortunately we know a great deal about these Pyus, both from the Chinese history and from the remains dug up by recent excavations at Hmawza (near Prome) which represents the site of ancient Śrīkshetra. The Burmese chronicles, written at a time when the Burmese tribe had held undisputed sway over the country for many centuries represent the Pyu as one of the constituent tribes of the Burmese. But philological investigation into the language of the Pyus shows that they were very distantly related to the Mrammas or Burmese proper, and should be regarded for all practical purposes, as a separate racial unit[3]. Historically, the Burmese do not play any part in the history of Burma before the eleventh century A.D., and it is generally held now that their migration into the country in large numbers does not probably date much earlier. In any case during the first millenium of the Christian era, Burma proper (excluding Arakan) contained only two important groups of people, viz., the Mons or Talaings in the coastal region in the south and south-east, and the Pyus along the valley of the upper and the lower Irawady from Shwebo district in the north to Prome in

[2] The real name of this people is not known with certainty. The later Burmese chronicles refer to them as Pyu and this form was evidently the origin of the name Piao, by which the Chinese knew them. According to the New History of Tang Dynasty the Piaos called themselves Tu-lo-chu and the Javanese called them Tu-li-chu. Now in a Mon Inscription (No. ix) of Kyanzittha's reign found at Pagan, reference is made, in course of a detailed description of an elaborate ceremony, to the "Burmese singing, Mon singing and Tircul singing." It has been suggested that in this Tircul we have approximation to the actual name of the Pyus. It has also been pointed out that a very similar name Trsūl (or T. sūl) is used by the Persian authors of the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. to indicate a country adjacent to China (cf. *Journ. Burma Res. Soc.*, Vol. XXII, p. 90; Vol. XXVII, p. 241).

[3] *Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1921-2, p. 185.

the south. The Hindu colonists settled among these two peoples and introduced Hindu culture and civilisation among them.

§2. *Kingdom of Śrīkshetra.*

To the north of the Mons in Lower Burma the Hinduised Pyus established a kingdom with Śrīkshetra (*Mod.* Hmawza, near Prome) as the capital. According to the legends quoted above, this kingdom was founded by the Hindu or Hinduised royal dynasty of Tagaung on the Irawadi in Upper Burma. There is no inherent improbability in the assumption that the Indian colonists who went by land-route to Upper Burma from E. India, through Manipur, gradually spread southwards along the Irawadi. But in view of the fact that Prome was much nearer the sea in those days than at present, the arrival of fresh Indian colonists by sea, or by land through Arakan, cannot be altogether discounted and even appears quite probable. On the whole it would be much safer to take the Pyu as a distinct political unit, and regard the kingdom of Śrīkshetra as a separate Hindu colony, rather than a mere offshoot of that of Upper Burma. Although the inscribed records of the Pyus discovered so far do not enable us to reconstruct even an outline of their political history, they furnish the names of certain kings and throw light upon their culture and civilisation. The records were all found at or near Hmawza (old Prome), the site of the ancient Pyu capital, and we may notice a few of them.

(1) An inscription, engraved on the pedestal of a Buddha image, composed in beautiful Sanskrit verse, interspersed with Pyu renderings of Sanskrit Text. The script and the style of the image both resemble those of Eastern India of about the seventh century A.D. It appears from the record that the image of Buddha was set

up by King Jayachandravarman at the instance of his *guru* (religious preceptor) for maintaining peace and good-will between the king and his younger brother Harivikrama. We are further told that King Jayachandra built two cities side by side[4].

(2) Seven inscriptions on five funeral urns, found near the Payagi Pagoda, contain the names of three kings Harivikrama, Siha (Siṁha) Vikrama, and Suriya (Sūrya) Vikrama. The dates in these inscriptions have been interpreted to refer to the period between A.D. 673 and 718, but this is by no means certain. The inscriptions are written in Pyu language and archaic South-Indian alphabets which appear to belong to a much earlier period[5].

(3) A Pyu inscription on a *stupa* gives the names or titles of donors as Śrī Prabhuvarma and Śrī Prabhudevī and most probably these are the king and the queen[6].

The antiquity and the importance of the Pyus is proved by the fact that the earliest notices in Chinese texts[7] regarding Burma refer to the people as P'iao, which undoubtedly is the same as Pyu. These notices go back to the third century A.D. and show that the Pyus then occupied the valley of the Irawadi. The continued existence of the Pyus is confirmed by references in Chinese texts between the third and seventh century A.D. The account of Hiuen Tsang[8] shows that the Hinduised Pyu kingdom of Śrīkshetra was the first great Hindu kingdom beyond the frontier of E. India in the seventh century A.D. The several inscriptions, noted above, probably also belong to the same period.

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[4] *Ibid.*, 1927-28, p. 128; 1930-31, p. 219.
Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray—*Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma*, p. 19.

[5] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 127 ff.

[6] *Ann. Rep. A.S.I.* 1926-7, p. 175.

[7] For the Chinese notices regarding the Pyus cf. *B.E.F.E.O.*, Vol. IV, pp. 165—173; *Journ. Burma Res. Soc.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 240 ff.

[8] Watters—Vol. II, p. 187.

The rise of the powerful Thai kingdom of Nan-chao[9] in Yunnan proved a source of great danger to the Pyus. The Thais of Nan-chao seem to have dominated Upper Burma in the 8th and 9th centuries. Ko-lo-fong, the King of Nan-chao, inflicted a defeat upon the Chinese in 754 A.D. and the internal dissensions of the Chinese empire, following shortly after, freed him from any danger in that quarter. He, therefore, turned his attention to the west and invaded the Pyu kingdom. The Pyu-Nan-chao frontier corresponded with the present Sino-Burman frontier in the neighbourhood of Bhamo. The Pyu king seems to have submitted to his powerful neighbour, when I-meu-sin, the grandson of Ko-lo-fong submitted to China towards the close of the eighth century and sent embassies to the Imperial court the Pyu king also imitated his example. In 802 A.D. he sent an embassy led by his brother (or son) Sunandana, governor of the city of Śrī (perhaps Bhamo or Tagaung), and sent the musicians of his court as present to the Chinese emperor. Another embassy was sent in 807 A.D. It is presumably from these embassies that the Chinese derived the information about the country which we find recorded in Chinese chronicles. According to the Chinese account the Pyu kingdom was 500 miles from east to west and 700 or 800 miles from north to south. It adjoined to Kāmboja on the east and the sea on the south. On its south-west (probably meaning south-east) was Dvāravatī and on its west, Eastern India. It extended up to Nan-chao on the north. The Pyu claimed to have 18 subject kingdoms mostly to the south of Burma, but as the list includes Palembang Java, Śrāvastī Champā, etc., it is largely an empty boast. Lists of 8 or 9 garrison towns and of the 32 most important among the 298 tribes or settlements are also given.

[9] For an account of the kingdom of Nan-chao cf. a series of articles by E. Rocher in *T'oung Pao*, Series I, Vol. X; *B.E.F.E.O*, Vol. IV, pp. 152—169.

The Old History of the Tang Dynasty gives the following account :—

" The king's name is Mahārāja. His chief Minister is Mahāsena. The city-wall is faced with glazed bricks; it is 27 miles in circumference. The banks of the moat are faced with brick. Within the walls the inhabitants number several thousands of families. There are over a hundred Buddhist monasteries with courts and rooms all decked with gold and silver. It is their custom to love life and hate killing. Their laws contain no mention of punishment nor any kind of chains or fetters. When they come to the age of seven both boys and girls drop their hair and stop in a monastery where they take refuge in the Saṅgha. On reaching the age of twenty, if they have not awakened to the principles of Buddha, they let their hair grow again and become ordinary townsfolk. Their clothes are all made of silk-cotton cloth (?) They do not wear silk because they say, it comes from silk-worms and involved injury to life.

The *Man-Shu* adds that the Pyu custom is " to esteem modesty and decency. Their disposition is peaceful and good. They are men of few words. There are many fortune-tellers and astrologers."

The New History of the Tang Dynasty contains a long passage about the Pyus from which the following extracts are made :—

" There are twelve gates with pagodas at the four corners : the people all live within. They make their tiles of lead and tin, and their timber of lychee. They are acquainted with astronomy and delight in Buddha's law. There is a great white image, 100 ft. high ("opposite the gate of the palace," adds the *Man-shu*). Their money is of silver and gold (*Man-shu* says only of silver) shaped like the half-moon. They traffic with their neighbouring tribes in glazed ware and earthen jars, among other things.

The married women wear their hair piled in coils on the top of the head and ornamented with silver and strings of pearls. They wear blue skirts of silk-cotton (?) and throw about them pieces of gauze. When out for a walk, they hold a fan. Those of high rank have five or six attendants at their side, all holding fans. They have 22 musical instruments, made of 8 different substances—of metal, 2; of shell, 1; of string, 7; of bamboo, 2; of gourd, 2; of leather, 2; of ivory, 1 and of horn, 2 (detailed description follows of these musical instruments and the dress of the musicians and dancers). The twelve songs they sang at the Chinese Court were on Buddist themes".

The musical instruments appear to be mostly those with which we are familiar in India. The number and variety of instruments and the excellence of the musical performance which produced great impression on the Chinese Court indicate that the Hinduised Pyus had attained to a high degree of civilisation. This is fully borne out by the other facts that we know about them, from their inscriptions, artistic remains and the manner and customs described by the Chinese.

How and when the kingdom of Śrīkshetra came to an end is not known with certainty. In 832 A.D. the king of Nan-chao invaded the Pyu kingdom. According to *Man-shu* the invaders "plundered the Pyu capital, took more than 3,000 persons as prisoners and banished them into servitude at Yannanfu," Man-chao's eastern capital. Some scholars are of opinion that this brought about sudden end of the Pyu kingdom. But, as Pelliot points out, the Pyu kingdom continued after that and sent an embassy to China in 862 A.D.[10]

[10] The end of the Pyus as a political power is an intricate problem which cannot be discussed here. There are good grounds to believe that the Pyus played an important rôle in Pagan, after the fall of Śrīkshetra, down to the 13th century A.D. (*Report, Arch. Survey, Burma*, 1915-6, p. 18). It was at one time held

It would appear from the Chinese accounts that the Pyu kingdom in the ninth century A.D. included a large part, if not the whole, of Upper and Central Burma. But we know very little of this kingdom after the 9th century. It is probable that they were worsted in a fight with the Mons of the south and removed their capital higher up on the Irawadi, probably at Pagan.[11]

§3. *Hindu Culture in Śrīkshetra.*

Although we know little of the political history of the kingdom of Śrīkshetra, we have a better knowledge of its culture and civilisation from a study of the archaeological remains that have been unearthed during recent excavations[12].

These excavations have been carried on, more or less regularly, since 1907. "The site is now called Yathemyo, the city of the Hermit, and is five miles to the east of Prome, and the Railway station of Hmawza is included within its area. The ruins are found scattered within, roughly speaking, an area of 400 square miles, that is to say, within a distance of about 10 miles in the direction of the cardinal points from the Railway station as the centre". It is interesting to note that a village in this area is still known as Kalagangon, which means the village

that about the end of the 13th century the Pyus were lost sight of (*Ann. Rep. A.S.I.* 1930—33, p. 190). But an inscription found in Ava, while describing a ceremonial in 1510 A.D. refers to "the daughters of Brahmans and Pyus employed in spinning thread" (*Ibid.*, 1934-5, p. 49). As the present article deals, not with the history of the Pyus, but with that of Śrīkshetra, the topic is not discussed here.

[11] It has been suggested that the capital of the Pyus in the ninth century was probably Halin (*Journ. Bur. R.S.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 248-9) but no evidence in support of this has been cited beyond the fact that three inscriptions of the Pyus have been found there.

[12] The reports of these excavations are contained in the Annual Reports of the Arch. Surv. of India and the Provincial Circle. The account that follows is based on these reports. It would be a tedious task to give detailed references.

near the mound by the Indian tank. Many important ancient objects of Hindu culture have been found near this village. The important objects found in course of the excavations of the ancient site of Śrīkshetra may be classified under the following heads:—

I. Terra-cotta votive Tablets

II. Inscriptions

III. Sculpture

IV. Buildings

I. The number of Terra-cotta Votive Tablets discovered in Hmawza is prodigious. Single mounds have yielded hundreds of them. They show a variety of designs showing the figures of Buddha, in various *mudras* or attitudes, and the Bodhisattvas, or the scenes from Buddha's life. Many of these tablets contain the well-known Buddhist formula '*Ye dharmā hetuprabhavā,* etc.,' and sometimes short extracts from Abhidhamma Piṭaka. The earlier specimens may be referred to the period 5th to 7th centuries A.D.

II. Quite a large number of inscriptions, besides those on votive tablets, have been found. They are written in Sanskrit, Pali, mixed Pali and Sanskrit, and in an unknown language which is regarded as that of the Pyus. The Pyu inscriptions are written in an alphabet which resembles the South-Indian script specially that used by the Kadambas. The other inscriptions are written both in North and South Indian alphabets. In addition to the inscriptions on votive tablets, and the nine inscriptions containing names of kings, referred to above, the following may be mentioned as specially important.

1. Two gold plates found at the village of Maunggun, near Hmawza, containing extracts from the Pali Buddhist canon.

2. A manuscript containing, instead of palm-leaves, twenty leaves of gold, with writings on one side, which are short extracts in Pali from Abhidharma and Vinaya Piṭakas.

3. A gold plate containing the first part of a well-known Buddhist formula occurring in the Vinaya and Suttanta Piṭakas.

4. Thin gold and silver plates with writings in Pyu.

5. Pali Inscription on a small piece of stone broken into three fragments, containing an extract from the Vibhaṅga.

These and some other minor records, both in Pyu and Pali, may be referred, on palaeographic grounds to the period between fifth and seventh centuries A.D.

To a somewhat later period belongs the fairly long inscription of Jaychandravarman mentioned above. It is incised round the pedestal of a Buddha image and written both in Sanskrit and Pyu. "The Sanskrit phrases are very short, consisting of two words mostly, sometimes three and even one word; each is followed by a long explanation in Pyu. The Sanskrit portions, put together, constitute eight complete verses in the Vaṁśasthavila metre. The Pyu portion is in characters of an early South-Indian script; some letters of the Sanskrit portion are somewhat different and traceable to the Gupta script of the 7th-8th century A.D.

There are other inscriptions written in Sanskrit and Pyu, and on a bronze image of Buddha is written the Buddhist creed in Pali in North Indian script of the Gupta period. There are besides, figures on bricks, which are identical with, or closely resemble, the numerical figures used in Indian inscriptions of the Gupta period.

III. Sculpture—Numerous figures of Buddha in brick, stone and bronze have come to light. Some of them may be referred to the 6th, 7th and 8th centuries A.D. and

others may be somewhat later. Two gold images of Buddha $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. $\times 2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. high have been referred to the 10th or 11th century A.D. Some images of Bodhisattvas of the Mahāyāna pantheon have also come to light. Brahmanical images are comparatively much smaller in number. Mention may, however, be made of a Śivaliṅga and two images of Vishṇu, one on Anantanāga and the other on Garuḍa. The style of the sculptures is decidedly Indian and some of them are of excellent workmanship. The cast of the Buddha's features is generally Indian though in some cases it seems to be indigenous.

IV. Buildings.—The whole site of Hmawza is covered with remains of ruined *Stupas*. Very few of them are, however, in a good state of preservation. A number of silver *stupas* have also been found. Sometimes a *stupa* was encased in another. One of these, in a good state of preservation, shows a bell-shaped dome encircled by a round moulding in the middle. It rests on circular terraces and is surmounted by seven diminishing rings of mouldings, and a lotus-bud shaped *āmalaka* projecting from the midst of two layers of lotus-petals crowns the top. *Stupas* represented on votive tablets show a cylindrical form of the shape of a lotus bud, with decorative mouldings round the middle of the dome, which sometimes rests on lotus petals and is crowned by umbrellas. A *stupa* represented on a stone slab has the form which is very common in India. Anoher type characterised by a cylindrical dome with a rounded top is figured on a stone slab covering the relic chamber of a *stupa*. There are three monuments at Hmawza the shape of whose domes closely resembles that of this miniature *stupa*. They are the Bawbawgyi, the Payagyi, and the Payama *stūpas* which on stylistic grounds have been ascribed to the Vth—VIIth or perhaps VIIIth century A.D. The Bawbawgyi, 80ft. high, has a dome cylindrical in shape and closely akin to

that represented on the slab, while the other two have conical domes.

Special reference should be made to a silver *stupa* found inside the relic chamber in Khin Ba's mound (ruins of a *stūpa*). "It measures about 26″ in height with a diameter of 13 ins. at the top and 16 ins. at the base. Around the drum of the *stupa* are four seated Buddhas each with an attendant monk standing on one side. The *stūpa* itself is hollow with no bottom and is of silver plate with the images repoussé in high relief. The top forming the cover is removable and has, around the rim, a line of inscription in Pyu and Pali in an early script of S. India which may be assigned to the VIth or the beginning of the VIIth century A.D. Each of the passages in Pyu gives the name of the Buddha immediately below it, and after each of these names comes a short extract consisting of a few words from the Pali scriptures. The names of the attendants were also inscribed under the figures. Around the lower rim of the *stupa* was another line of Pyu Ins. which contains the names of Śrī-Prabhuvarma and Śrī-Prabhudevī, probably the royal donors, as noted above. In the absence of a sufficient number of *stupas* in a fair state of preservation it is difficult to trace the gradual evolution of its forms. There is no doubt, however, that they were all evolved from the *stupas* of India.

Of the temples in ancient Śrīkshetra we have only a few unpretentious examples in brick, such as Lemyet-hna and Bebe. The Lemyet-hna is square on plan measuring 24 ft. on each side. Inside there is a solid mass, 8 ft. square, in the centre with a figure of Buddha in a recessed niche on each face. Round this is a vaulted corridor 4 ft. wide, which has communication passages with four arched doorways, one on each side at the centre. Externally the walls support a terraced roof of three sloping tiers in receding stages ending in a flat square slab which is directly

supported by the solid mass below in the centre of the temple. The Bebe temple is similar in plan, but here the flat roof, in two receding stages, supports a high cylindrical structure which looks like, and was probably originally, a N. Indian *Śikhara*. These two temlpes may be dated about the 8th century A.D. Although none of these is distinguished for its massive grandeur or decorative sculptures, they undoubtedly furnished the plan and design of the magnificent temples which were erected at Pagan in later days. There is hardly any doubt that the art of Śrīkshetra, in architecture, as in sculpture, strongly influenced the later art of Burma. That this style was derived from Indian model is now generally admitted, though older writers looked for its prototypes in all regions of the globe outside India.

The archaeological remains, described above, leave no doubt of the thorough-going character of the Hindu culture in the kingdom of Śrīkshetra where the Pyu tribe came under the influence of the Hindu colonists. The Indian scripts, language and literature were widely known and all the principal religions of India, viz., Buddhism, both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, Vaishṇavism and Śaivism flourished. The types of religious buildings in India were introduced and the arts and crafts were developed on Indian models. The very large number of *stupas*, Buddha images, and votive tablets indicate the great influence of Buddhism among the people. How far it moulded the life of the masses is shown by the brief Chinese account of the Pyus. The fact that a part of the town was known as Peikthano-myo (Vishṇu city) proves the dominance of Vaishṇavism for some time.

So far as available evidence goes, Śrīkshetra is the earliest Hindu colonial kingdom in Burma known to us. There might have been still earlier Hindu settlements among the Mons or Talaings in the coastal districts in S

E. Burma, particularly in Pegu and Thaton, but no positive evidence, except literary traditions of a later date, vouch for their existence. For the present Śrīkshetra is to be regarded as the earliest centre from which Indian culture radiated in all directions in Burma. The roots of the principal characteristics of later Hindu civilisation in Burma—religion, art, literature and writing—may all be traced to Śrīkshetra, though that by no means precludes concurrent or later influences from other sources.

'ŌNAM'*—THE GREAT NATIONAL FESTIVAL OF MALABAR.[1]

BY

C. ACHYUTA MENON, PH.D. (LONDON),

Head of the Malayalam Deptt., University of Madras.

The saying in Malayalam that 'One should celebrate 'Ōnam' even by selling his 'Kāṇam'[2] (properties) shows its importance in the life of the Malayalees. It falls on the month of Chingam (Lion) (August-September) on the Tiruvōṇam[3] day.

Traditional Origin.

The traditional belief associates it with the annual visit of Mahā Bali, the great Asura Emperor of Malabar, who was an embodiment of Dharma magnanimity and justice. The question why Mahā Bali whose generosity was admired even by his enemies was not allowed to have periodical visits to Kēraḷa[4] which he ruled once but only annual visits takes us to the old Purāṇic story of Vāmana who asked the gift of three feet of ground from Mahabali for doing penance. The request was readily granted, and he was asked to measure the ground himself. Suddenly, the divine Dwarf grew into gigantic proportions and the

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* Corresponds to Sravana Star.

[1] Here used in the wider sense to denote the whole of the Malayalam speaking area, British Malabar, Cochin and Travancore.

[2] Lands held for a period of 12 years with a degree of proprietary right.

[3] Comprised of 2 words Tiru+Ōṇam; the first part 'conveys' the sense of the English word 'holy'.

[4] The Sanskrit name for that part of the west coast of S. India where Malayalam is spoken.

heaven and earth covered only two feet of his measurement. Still one more foot was due to him according to the solemn promise. Mahābali had nothing else to give and bowed before Vāmana, of whose powers he had no idea. Vāmana, in his turn, placed his foot on Maha Bali's forehead and kicked him down to Pātāḷa[5]—a very good return for the generous gift' ! The old Emperor before going down made a parting request that he may be permitted to visit the 'precious jewel of his Crown' namely Kēraḷa at least once a year. Vāmana versus Mahābali story is common property of the Paurānikas. But the credit of having linked it with Kēraḷa must be exclusively owned by our Malayalee ancestors. All glory to their fertile imagination!

The Story—A Later Invention.

An enquiry as to how far the story is supported by any existing practice or custom is bound to be interesting. Among the ceremonials connected with 'Ōṇam' is one in which an image of Mahābali made of mud is propitiated, which shows that Mahābalai and Kēraḷa had same connection between them. But Vāmana has no place anywhere. Among the deities propitiated on the occasion is Mahādeva (Śiva). Vāmana is an incarnation of Viṣṇu and does not fit in a scheme dominated by Śiva. This is significant. The Vāmana part of the story might have been a later invention. The Purāṇic story is complete by itself in all its parts even without the adventitious aid of Kēraḷa. Mahābali's rule is extolled in Purāṇas for its all-round perfection. Only the jealous Indra was unhappy about it. Milk and honey flowed in plenty throughout the land[6]. All were equally contented and

[5] The Netherworld.

[6] The poem 'Māveli Caritam' (Ōṇappāṭṭu) describes the prosperity enjoyed by the people of Malabar during the reign of Mahābali.

none felt the pinch of poverty or want. The era seems to have anticipated the communist ideals of modern times. By some foul play rendered possible by his religious credulity such a magnanimous Emperor was sent out of his Empire which began to feel his absence all the more when misery faced it during the succeeding generations. The magnanimity of the Emperor lived thereafter in the memory of his subjects who out of gratitude perpetuated it by giving him an honoured place in the 'Onam' festivities.

Pre-Onam Observances.

To understand 'Ōṇam' in its proper setting one should necessarily look back and ahead. The ceremonies of the previous month deserve some attention in this connection. The most important of them is 'NIṚA' (means filling) which falls on Karkiḍakam (Crab) (July-August). This consists of taking the first bunch of paddy escorted by boys and girls; one of them—generally a girl—holds a lamp in front of the procession to the innermost apartment dedicated to 'The Mother.' On the way the party will shout "Niṛa, Niṛa, Poli, Pali—Fill, Fill, Plenty, Plenty." By propitiating the first bunch of paddy, people believe that it will grow in plenty and all will be saved from famine. In the same month women adorn their tuft with "Ten select flowers and leaves"—an act of appreciation of the Nature's bounty which is the dominant feature of the panorama all round at that time. This is a month of comparative leisure to the cultivator, the first crop is laid and the harvest is yet another month off. Monsoon has made ample amends for the loss sustained during Summer and the green mantle with which Nature has covered herself inspires the ryot with admiration and veneration for her and he expresses his joy by collecting the flowers of the Season and arranging them in various shapes—concentric circles, cones and so forth—in the court yard and other

open spaces of the house. At the end of the month comes the final removal of the rubbish by the ceremonial which drives away the *JYESHṬĀ* (literally means elder sister), the goddess of dirt.*

These preliminaries naturally lead to the 'Ōnam' month (Cingam) when harvesting is begun and which inaugurates festivities of various kinds. This is considered to be the month of plenty and prosperity throughout Malabar when Mahābali is expected to visit. During his reign it is still believed, that all months of the year were equally prosperous. Conditions changed when his benign presence was no longer there to guide the destinies of thé country.

Celebrations.

The celebrations generally last for five days; but the aristocrats, who can command more leisure and funds extend the period to 10 days, beginning from Attam. (Hastam) day. The image of Mahādeva placed in front of the house marks the commencement of the celebrations. As the days pass the number of idols will increase, first day one, second day two, and so on. But the people who begin it from the Purāṭam (Purvāṣaḍam) day will have only three idols; adding up two every day, culminating in seven on the Tiruvōṇam day. Those who have the celebrations for ten days will increase the number proportionately, say eleven. Early morning on the Tiruvōṇam day the idols of Mahadeva[7] are ceremoniously taken in to the accompaniment of songs and the bow mela[8], an instrument played by means of sticks. After the ceremony Mahādeva

* She was born before Lakshmi, the Goddess of Prosperity at the churning of the Ocean of Milk and so she is regarded as elder sister.

[7] Called Trikkakara Appan, the Lord of Trikkakara, N. Travancore, which was the capital of Mahabali.

[8] It takes its name from its form which resembles that of a bow used for archery in ancient times.

is propitiated by a *pūja*. The idols are bedecked with flowers of the season and also with bunches of paddy. This is followed by feasting in which the banana, which is the seasonal fruit of Malabar is an inevitable item. In the afternoon men engage themselves is various tournaments, hockey, called Kara in Malayalam, ball, etc., and also in military combats and the women take to the popular pastime called the KAIKKOTTIKKALI, i.e., the circular dance accompanied by clapping of hands to mark time. The important person in the locality, generally a rich landlord, arranges these tournaments at his own expense and awards prizes for the winners. Aristocrats who maintain Kathakali troupes arrange performances also.

On the Uttarāṭam (Uttarāṣāda) day gift of new cloth is usually made by the Karnavan of the family to all the junior members, servants and also tenants. This is generally worn by the recipients on the same day.

On the afternoon of the Tiruvōṇam day the male members of the house go to their wive's houses[9]; they return with their wives the next day morning, i.e., the Aviṭṭam (Dhaniṣta) day which is intended for their reception. This day is called in Malayalam 'AMMAYI ONAM' (Aunt's Ōnam). The wives remain there till the celebrations are over.

The last day Catayam (Śatabhiṣhak) is called the "Tenant's Onam" on which the landlord invites all his tenants and feeds them sumptuously. In certain houses gift of new clothes to tenants is made on that day.

A Post-Onam Function.

A fortnight after comes another celebration for two days, *i.e.*, on the days of Āyilyam (Āślēṣam) and Makham

[9] In matriarchal families of Malabar it was not the custom for husbands and wives to live together in the same house; only they visit each other's house periodically. Now conditions have changed and the rule has become exception now.

(Māgha). By the time the harvest is ready and Mahādeva whose size also is much bigger, again a sign of prosperity, at that time is covered by bunches of paddy. He also has on this occasion an additional adornment of a serpent on him. During Ōṇam he appears in the form of a cylindrical square linga. This time Mahābali has a place by his side. The festivities, feastings, tournaments, etc, are repeated on the last day, Makam (Magha) and with this the Onam season is supposed to have come to an end.

General Survey.

The above description gives an idea that 'Onam' had its origin in the festivities connected with the harvest when agriculture was the main occupation of the people, and the 'Tenant's day' is a relic of the feudal system of tenure which once prevailed in Malabar. The martial aspect of it no longer exists as the political conditions of the society underwent a thorough change with the advent of the Western powers. The social aspect, however, still remains although detailts vary in different localities and there is a tendency to minimise the festivities to suit the busy life of modern times.

It is a mistake to suppose that 'Ōnam' is an isolated event as we have already seen the ceremonies that precede and follow it form a regular net work of activities and rejoicings having a common aim, viz., the expression of joy and merriment, experienced by the tiller of the soil at the first sight of a plentiful crop resulting from his labour. The cultural development that came later added new items to the function so much so the festival as it now stands embodies all the ideas and ideals which the people of Malabar cherished in the course of their historical evolution. Though Hindus of Malabar give it a religious tinge the agricultural aspect of it has a universal appeal and all communities and creeds take part in the celebrations.

MAHOBA STONE INSCRIPTION OF PARAMARDIN, VIKRAMA YEAR 1240

BY

MAHAMAHOPADHYĀYA V. V. MIRASHI, M.A.,

Nagpur

This inscription was discovered by General Sir Alexander Cunningham in 1843. The stone on which it is incised was found placed upside down as a common building stone in the fort wall at *Mahobā*, ancient Mahotsavapura, in the Hammirpur District of the United Provinces. Cunningham drew attention to its date which he referred to the Vikrama era and correctly conjectured that the epigraph belonged to the reign of the Chandella Paramardideva.[1] A brief and, in some respects incorrect account[2] of the record was next given by Mr. Vincent Smith in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1879, pp 143—44. Its date was calculated and published by Dr. Kielhorn in connection with his examination of the dates of the Vikrama era in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 179. But the inscription has nowhere been edited so far. At the request of my friend Dr. V. S. Agrawala, Curator of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, where the stone is now deposited, I edit the inscription here from three excellent estampages kindly supplied by him.

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[1] *A.S.R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 72 and plate xxii.

[2] V. Smith has, for instance, stated that the epigraph contained the name of Nānika, the founder of the Chandella dynasty. This is incorrect. The correct reading of the name in l. 14 is Nona. He belonged to the Kāśyapa (not Chandella) family and was the grandfather of the Brāhmaṇa Mādhava who got the temple of Śiva constructed where the present inscription was put up. He was not related to the Chandella family.

The stone now measuring 2′ 2″ by, 1′ 3″ is broken at the top and on the right and left sides. Originally it must have measured 2′ 4″ broad. Its original height it is now impossible to conjecture, but if it contained a *praśasti* of the reigning king's ancestors as is not unlikely, its height must have been at least double the present one of 1′ 3″. On comparing the facsimiles supplied by Dr. Agrawala with plate xxii in Cunningham's *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXI, I find that since Cunningham's time the stone has lost a piece on the upper left-hand corner where it had a crack at the time. As this piece is not forthcoming now, the *aksharas* on it are read from Cunningham's plate and are marked by an asterisk in the subjoined transcript. The extant portion of the record consists of 17 lines of writing of which the first one now shows the lower parts of only four *aksharas*. In the remaining lines also the record has suffered considerable damage by exposure to weather for several centuries, the *anusvāras* and *mātrā* having become indistinct in many places.

The **characters** are of the Nāgarī alphabet of about the twelfth century A.D., the medial *e* and *o* being shown by *pṛishṭamātrās*. The **language** is Sanskrit. The extant portion contains 20 verses, all of which except four (*viz.*, 10, 13, 16, and 19) are fragmentary owing to the loss of several *akasharas* on the right and left hand sides. The **orthography** shows the use of *v* for *b*, *s* for *ś* and n for *ṇ*. The record closes with the **date** given in prose *viz.*, Monday, the 9th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Āshāḍha in the year 1240. Verse 18 mentions the same year by means of word-numerals and states that it was of (the era of) Sāhasāṅka. Sāhasāṅka was a name of

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[3] Cf. 'Vikramādityaḥ Sāhasāṅkaḥ Śakāntakaḥ' cited in Kshīrasvāmin's commentary on the *Amarakosha*, II, 8, 2.

Vikramāditya. So the date must be referred to the Vikrama era. According to Kielhorn's calculations it corresponds, for the southern expired Vikrama year 1240, to the **4th June A.D. 1184** when the ninth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānte* Āshāḍha ended 18 h. after mean sunrise on Monday.[4] The date is thus quite regular.[5]

The **object** of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple of Śiva apparently at Mahobā where the stone was found. From verse 11 we learn that the temple was caused to be erected by a king and the last verse informs us that he belonged to the lunar race. Owing to the unfortunate mutilation of the record, the names of the reigning king and his ancestors are lost for ever, but the provenance of the inscription leaves little doubt that the king must have belonged to the **Chandella dynasty** which traced its descent from the moon. Its date V. 1240 indicates clearly that the king was *Paramardin*, records of whose reign are dated from V. 1223 to V. 1258.

As stated above, the description of this king's ancestors which must have occurred in the initial portion of

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 179.

[5] In n. 2 on p. 282 of his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has drawn attention to this date to support his conjecture that the Kalachuri era was called *Sāhasamallābda* in view of the use of the word Sāhasamallāṅka to denote it in the Rewa stone inscription of Malayasiṁha, dated in the Kalachuri year 944. He says that the date of the present epigraph may belong to the Kalachuri era as it works out alright for this era also. Its equivalent in that case would be Monday, the 22nd June A.D. 1489. But this view is incorrect. In the first place, Sāhasamalla does not mean the same as Sāhasāṅka. Secondly, if the present date is referred to the Kalachuri era, it would fall towards the end of the fifteenth century A.D. when there was no prince of the lunar race holding Mahobā and the surrounding territory. The reference to the lord of Tripurī pointed out below would also be meaningless. Finally, the palaeography of the present inscription clearly shows that it cannot be as late as the end of the 15th century A.D. For an explanation of *Sāhasamallāṅke* which occurs in the inscription of Malayasiṁha, see my article entitled 'Epigraphic Notes' in the *Nagpur University Journal*, No. 3, pp. 32 ff.

the record is completely lost. The extant portion contains a *praśasti* of Paramardin in verses 1-10 which describes his *digvijaya* and charity in a conventional manner. Verse 4 mentions his battles in Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga, but these are not corroborated by any other evidence. Verse 6 states that the lord of **Tripuri** fainted whenever he heard the songs of the valour of his arms.[6] This seems to indicate that the contemporary Kalachuri king who ruled at *Tripurī* submitted to Paramardin. Madanavarman, the grandfather and predecessor on the throne of Paramardin, seems to have made inroads into the dominion of the Kalachuris, for a hoard of 408 silver coins of his was discovered some years ago at Panwar in the Teonthar tahsil of the Rewa State which formed part of the home-province of the Kalachuris. Tradition states that in the reign of Madanavarman, a Chandella governor stationed at Bilhāri (about 50 miles north by east of Tripurī) administered the surrounding territory including the present Saugor and Damoh Districts.[7] No inscription of this king has however been discovered in these districts. Paramardin also seems to have exacted homage from the contemporary king of Tripurī who was Vijayasiṁha, the last known ruler of the Kalachuri dynasty. It is noteworthy that this inscription makes no mention of the defeat of Paramardin by Prithvīrāja of the Chāhamāna family,[8] which had occurred just a year before, in V. 1239.

The present *praśasti*, as the inscription is called in verse 15, was composed by Jayapāla of the Vāstavya

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[6] The word *mūrchhanā* has a *double entendre* (i) a swoon and (ii) a melody, so that the other meaning is that the king of Tripurī sings a melody in praise of Paramardin.

[7] *J.A.S.B.* for 1881, Part I, pp. 18 and 21. Also *Ind. Ant.*, for 1908, p. 132.

[8] Cunningham, A.S.R., Vol. XXI, pp. 173-74 and P.R.A.S.W.I. for 1903-4, p. 55.

family. He was the son of Sūhila, himself the son of Hallaṇa. The temple was caused to be constructed by the Brāhmaṇa Mādhava, who is described as a teacher of fine arts and dancing and who was the son of Lakshmaṇa who was himself the only son of Nona of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*. The inscription was incised by the sculptor Devarāja, the son of Somarāja.

TEXT[9]

1—० ० ० ० ० ० ० ० ० [ग्वधादभ्यो *]

2—— – – [करिकर्ण्णतालपवनप्रौ *] ढप्रतापानलज्वालाडंव (ब) रचुंवि- (बि) तांव (ब) रपथप्रस्थानताम्यत्तनुः। प्रालेयाचलमश्व – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – ⏑ –, – – –

3—⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ [शिलाशैले च संसेवते*] [10] ॥[१ ॥ *] यस्मिन्दिग्जय-कौतुकव्यसनिनि प्रोन्मीलदक्षो (क्षौ)हिणीक्षोभक्षुन्न (ण्ण) कुलाद्रिकीलकचलं भूमौ[लि] – – ⏑ – [। *] – – – ⏑ ⏑ –

4—⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – [संरुद्धनासापुटं संतप्ताधरपल्लवं *] फणिपतेरासीत्फणा-मंडलं (लम्) ॥ [२॥ *] अर्थिषु वांछाभ्यधिकं वितरति कनकोच्चयं सदा यस्मिन(न्) लज्जित इव सुरसा (शा) खी नंदनवन ० ० ० ० ० [11][॥३ ॥*] – – –

5—⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – [प्रसृमरैरालिंगिताः सीकरैः *] पौलोमीपतिदन्तिदान लहरीसो(सौ)रभ्यस (सं)व(ब)न्धिनः ।[ते] यस्या (स्यां)गकलि (लिं) गव (वं) गसमरप्र [स्वे] दविं (बिं) दूदय (ये) भि (भिं)दन्ति स्म समीरणाः करिघटास (सं) घ [ट्ट] – – ⏑ – [12][॥४ ॥ *]

6—— – – ⏑ [मसो(सौ) निशाविरहिता निर्नीरद(दं) दुर्दि*] न (नं) नी राहु ग्रहणं रवेरदहना नीर(रं)ध्रधूमोद्गतिः। निन्नि(न्नि)द्र (द्रं) विनि-मीलन (नं) जनदृशा (शां) यज्जे (ज्जै)त (त्र) यातो (त्रो) त्सव (वे) वल्गद्वाजिखुराग्रख(खं) डितधरा धूलि ⏑ – – ⏑ – [॥५॥ *]

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[9] From inked estampages. The starred *aksharas* in rectangular brackets in the beginning of lines 1—10 are read from plate xxii in Cunningham's *A.S.R.*, Vol. XXI.

[10] Metre of verses 1-2 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[11] Metre: *Āryā*.

[12] Metre of verses 4 and 5: *Śārdūla-vikrīḍita*.

7—⏑⏑ [मधु रति छत्ते लये च त्रिपुरीपतिः ।] मूर्च्छनामेव संवत्ते गीते यद्भुजविक्रम (मे) [13]॥[६ ॥ *] सेय (यं) वध्यशिला किलालविषमा जीमूत-केतोः सुतः सेहे पन्नगरक्षणाय गरुडोपस्कारकेलि (लिं) हृदि। यत्वा (क्त्वा) — ⏑ ⏑ —

8—⏑ – [स्तुतिकथां नैवात्मनः श्रद्द *] धे येनेदं जगदर्त्तिकर्त्तनकलालीलायित (तं) लज्जया ॥ [14][७ ॥ *] द्राक्षामंडपशायिकीररमणी च (चै) ला (लां) चलाकर्षिणः पु [ष्प्य] त्कु (त्कुं) कुमकेश [रांकु] रकणश्रेणीविकीर्णाम्व (म्ब) राः। – – – ⏑ ⏑

9—– ⏑ [हस्तमलह्रा *] – – द्रोच्छलच्छीकरास्ते सारस्वतम (मं) डलप्रणयिनां यंमेजिरे मारुताः ॥ [७ ॥ *] आच्छिन्ना (न्नां) चलतप्रधावितभटस्वीका-रका (को) पाकुलस्वः स्त्रील्क्लृप्तकुचा [कु] चिव्यतिकरव्यग्रीभवन्नारदं (दम्)। कीलाला ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –

10—⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – [फूत्कार *] घोरांव (ब) रं जातं दिग्जयजृंभि [तेषु] व (ब) हु सो (शो) यस्याजिविस्फूर्जितम (म्) ॥[९ ॥ *] पौलस्त्य-मस्तक भ्रस्य (श्य) दश्र (स्र) विश्रा (स्रा) जटाटवी। कर्प्पूरपूजने य (ये) न पुरारेः सुरभीकृता ॥ [15][१० ॥ *] तेनेदमद्रितनयारमणस्य धम्म (र्म्म) नि [र्म्माण*] – ⏑

11—⏑ ⏑ – न्वयगर्व्वलोपि। यत्रोल्ल्लसद्ध्वजपटार्प्पितकिंकिणीना (नां) क्वा[णैर्म] वन्ति तरणेस्तरलास्तुरंगाः ॥ [16][११ ॥ *] अमुत्र प्रासादस्फटिक-गिरिलज्जाकररुचो (चौ) कृतावास[:] प्रीत्या विलसति मृडानी[प] रि-वृढः। मृदंगध्वा[ने] [नि *] ⏑ ⏑ ⏑

12—⏑ ⏑ वासेन शिखिनः स्वनै [स्त्रस्य] द्भूषा भुजगनिकरस्मेरवदनः ॥ [१२ ॥[17] *] श्रीवास्तव्यमहाव (वं) स (शे) सूहिलो हल्लणात्मजः। सुवृत्तः प्रापदुत्पत्ति (त्तिं) मुक्तामणिरिवोज्व (ज्ज्व) लः ॥ [18][१३ *॥] यो वाग्ज्योति ⏑ – ⏑ – न्तरतम – – ⏑

13—– – ⏑ म (मे) सत्री (त्री) शीतमयूखशेखरपदध्यानानुवं (बं) धी वु (बु) धः। कृत्वा सच्चरितं चिराय वयसः प्रान्ते पदं सा (शा) स्व (श्व)

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[13] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[14] Metre of verses 7—9: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[15] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[16] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*

[17] Metre: *Sikhariṇī.*

[18] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

A FORGOTTEN CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF THE KONKAṆ

BY

GEORGE M. MORAES, M.A.

After the disastrous failure of Jamāl-ud-dīn, the Muslim sea-captain of Honawar, to capture Goa and overthrow the Kadambas[1], the next notable event in the annals of Southern Konkan is its conquest and annexation by 'Alā-ud-dīn Hasan Gangu Bahmanī. This is an important fact which is not recorded in the documents of the times that have survived, or chronicled in the histories of writers of the class of Ṭabāṭabā or Firishta. Nevertheless, it seems undoubted that Goa fell to the founder of the Bahmanīs a few years before the inception of the dynasty. The truth of this matter we shall now proceed to demonstrate.

There are a set of copper-plates, issued in 1348 by one Timma Mantri[2], who, as it would appear from the context,

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[1] Defremery-Sanguinetti, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, IV, pp. 106—108; Gibb, *Ibn Battuta*, p. 241.

[2] According to the reading furnished by Mr. R. S. Panchamukhi, Sir P. S. Pissurlencar in his *Inscricoes Pre-Portuguesas*, p. 28, takes the name of the governor to be Vimna Mantri, which he understands, is a mistake for Vimāna Mantri. But a reference to the photograph of the plates appearing in the above work would show that the words are Timna Mantri, which may be taken as the engraver's mistake for Timma Mantri ತಿಂಮ್ಮ ಮಂತ್ರಿ the subscribed consonant *m* (್ಮ) in the last double consonant in 'Timma' being reversed, it looks like the subscribed consonant *n* (್ನ) .

But apart from its historical importance, the inscription is of interest from another point of view. It is the earliest instance of a document, so far known, which is executed in Koṅkaṇi, the local vernacular. For though there are thousands of documents of this character in the archives of the village communities as well as in private possession, it is not known whether they relate to so early a period. We may infer from this record that the local people employed their own vernacular in public as well as in

was then the Governor of Goa. The inscription commences with the words: "Śālivāhana Śaka 1271 having expired, on Monday Śrāvaṇa bahuḷa, aśṭami of the cyclic year Śārvari, while dharmadhani Malik Bahadur Timma Mantari was ruling"[3]. Though the name of the latter is undoubtedly Hindu, one will not fail to be struck by the marked departure in the record from the conventional Hindu style. For one thing, unlike the contemporary documents, it begins without invoking the name of any deity and straightaway refers itself to the regime of the governor. This, it may be conceded, is after all not so radical a departure; yet it is indisputable that the titles 'Malik' and 'Bahadur' are most unnatural for a Hindu governor to adopt. Why should he have so styled himself? True, the Emperors of Vijayanagara permitted themselves the style of Suratrāṇa or Sulitāna of the Hindu kings, but none of their governors are known to have assumed the titles which were the exclusive prerogative of the Muslim nobility. The only conclusion permissible is that Timma Mantri was in the service of a Muslim ruler—a circumstance from which it follows that Goa had fallen to a Muslim power sometime before 1348. And at the time we are speaking of this power could only have been the Bahmanī kingdom which had recently come into existence[4].

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private dealings along with Sanskrit and Kannaḍa. And since Kannaḍa was the official language of the Kadamba Kingdom, which included a large slice of the Kanarese country, they employed Kanarese characters in writing Konkaṇi, a practice which possibly accounts for the misnomer 'Canarim' applied to the latter by the early Portuguese writers. It is idle to contend, as certain present-day politicians do, that the language of the inscription is Marathi.

[3] 18th Aug., 1348. Taking the year Sārvari to be a mistake for Sarvadhāri the date becomes verifiable. It should therefore read as follows: *in the Ś.S 1270, Sarvadhāri Saṁvatsara, Śrāvaṇa bahuḷa aśṭami, somavāra.*

[4] King, *The History of the Bahmanī Dynasty, founded on the Burhān-i Maāsir*, p. 5, gives the date as 28th Sha'ban 148 (December 3, 1347) according to one writer or 24th Rabi II of

Now, in his *Burhan-i-M'āsīr*, Ṭabāṭabā has observed that at the time of the settlement of the kingdom before his death, Ḥasan Gangu assigned his own old district, consisting of Hukeri, Belgaum and Miraj to his eldest son Zafar Khan[5]. By this of course is meant that he bequeathed his old Jagir, which he had held of his master Muḥammad Tughluq to his son[6]. It must be borne in mind that the whole of this territory formed part of the Kadamba kingdom; and accordingly, having ousted the Kadambas from their possessions above the Ghauts, the ambitious and enterprising captain may also have extended his conquests to the coastal strip of the Konkan even before he ascended the throne of Gulburga. Nor were the times unpropitious for such an enterprise. Goa was then just recovering from the ravages of the late war, and could therefore fall an easy prey to any invader.

The appointment of Timma Mantri as governor is easily explained. One distinguishing trait which Ḥasan Gangu shares with all great progenitors of royal lines, is the policy of politic leniency, which he followed in the subjugated countries. This had the desired result in that it quickly conciliated the conquered people. It is precisely this principle and the other of *divide et impera* that induced him to appoint, as Firishta relates, though completely misconstruing the motives of the great ruler[7],

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the same year (3rd August, 1347 A.D.) according to another writer. Cf. Ishwari Prasad, *A History of the Qaraunah Turks in India*, Vol. I, p. 245.

[5] King, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22; *I.A.*, XXVIII, p. 152.

[6] Cf. *Cambridge History of India*, III, pp. 374-375. Ferishta-Briggs, II, p. 336 says that Belgaum was not included in the Bahmani dominions. This is incorrect, as it will be clear from this paper.

[7] To Firishta the appointment of Brāhmaṇas was a puzzle which he seeks to solve by alluding to the gratitude which Ḥasan owed to Gangu the Brāhmaṇa whose servant he had been. Ferishta-Briggs, II, pp. 284-5. This myth is now exploded. Cf. Ishwari Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 232 ff.

Brāhmaṇas to responsible positions. Hitherto the ruling class in the Deccan as elsewhere in Hindu India, consisted for the most part of Kshatriyas only, and broadly speaking, the observation of Firishta is not wrong regarding the Brāhmaṇas: "The Brahmans never engaged in public affairs, but passed their lives in the duties of religion and in the study of the Vedas; indifferent to fortune, conceiving the service of the princes to be destructive of virtue . . . "[8] Now in admitting them to his confidence Ḥasan Gangu sought to create dissensions among his new subjects by pitting the priestly class against the ruling class, which accounts for the presence of Timma Mantri in Goa as Governor under the distinctly Bahmanī titles of Malik Bahadur[9].

This policy would surely have succeeded had not his attention been distracted by troubles in other parts of his kingdom. These must have made it impossible for him to support his satrap against the local opposition. The result was that the Kadambas came into their own once again.

This war of liberation was fought and won in or about the year 1354. There is a hero-stone in the *Musee Arqueologico* of Velha Goa, which appears to relate to it. The viragal records that in a naval engagement fought on "Monday, the last lunar day of Ashāḍa bahuḷa pādya" 1354 A.D. in the reign of Bīravarma, a Sāmanta or a feudatory of his lost life[10]. The name of the dynasty to which he belonged is not mentioned; yet

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[8] Ferishta—Briggs, II, p. 292.

[9] Cf. 62 of 1939-40, Panchamukhi. *Karnataka Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 147.

[10] Heras, "Pre-Portuguese Remains in Portuguese India", JBHS, Vol. IV, No. 2, pp. 177—179. He suggests that this may have been the same Kadamba King 'who had to fight with the Mussulman Nawab of Honavar and whose name is still unknown to us.'

the terms "mahāmaṇḍalēśvara possessed of Pancha-mahāśabda" are such as to give a sufficient clue to his identification. For these were among the very birudas borne by the Goa Kadambas. Bīravarma must have availed himself of the troubles in Hasan's kingdom to retrieve the fortunes of his house. He attacked Goa by land and sea; and though the battle was fiercely contested, as is evidenced by the fact that a Kadamba Sāmanta fell in the action, it was the local Bahmanī satrap that lost the day[11].

But Ḥasan Gangu could ill afford to let the wealthiest emporium on the West coast thus slip from his grasp. Two years later, in 1356[12], he personally led a fresh attack on Goa. "After accomplishing the journey," says the Burhān-i Ma'āṣir, "the royal camp arrived in the neighbourhood of Goa, and they laid siege to the town, which after five or six months they succeeded in taking and were gladdened by countless booty" [13]. To have thus defied the efforts of the Muslims and stood a rigorous siege of six

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[11] The Muhammadan chroniclers like Ṭabāṭabā and Firishta, whose chief aim is to extol the triumphs of the Muslim arms are naturally reticent about the reverses they suffered at the hands of the Hindus. But this defeat of Ḥasan is implied in the account of Ṭabāṭabā, when he says that (in 1356) Ḥasan conceived the idea of conquering the island of Goa as well as Dhabol and all the sea-coast and ports (King, *op. cit.*, p. 20) forgetting for a while that he had earlier attributed to him the conquest of northern Konkan as far as Kharepatan (*ibid.*, p. 17). For Ḥasan to undertake the conquest of the country between Goa and Dhabol, which is further to the north than Kharepatan, this part must have been lost before 1356.

[12] In his learned treatise *Goeñcāraṁchi Goyāmbhāili Vasṇuk*, p. 88, the Goan savant. Mr. W. R. Varde Valavlikar, has remarked that the conquest of Goa by Ḥasan took place in 1352. However, if his conquest of Telingana is to be assigned to 1357, having kept him occupied for a year shortly before his death on 11th February, 1358, the Goa expedition cannot be placed earlier than 1356. For this is the last but one campaign and the intervening interval of time between the two is a short one. King, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[13] *Ibid.*

months, the Kadambas must have almost completely recovered their strength during the two years of respite given to them. This fact is further confirmed by the reference in the above passage to 'countless booty' that fell to the invaders. It is possibly with this final absorption of their territories in the Bahmanī kingdom that the tradition current at Chandor in respect of the end of the Kadamba dynasty is to be associated.[14]

Ḥasan Gangu, however, died two years after the conquest of Konkan and was succeeded by his son Muḥammad. Bukka I of Vijayanagara was biding his time to recover the possessions in Northern Karnatak lost in the reign of Harihara I[15], and now availed himself of this change of rulers to achieve his object. Conspiring with Kanhayya of Warangal, he demanded the restoration of the Raichur Doab, while the latter insisted on the retrocession of Kaulas. War naturally followed on non-compliance. Kanhayya marched an army into Kaulas, and Bukka supported the enterprise with a contingent of 20,000 horse.[15a] It was probably at this stage, when the Bahmani armies were locked in combat in the south-east with the Warangal forces, that Bukka by way of creating a diversion led an incursion into the Bahmani territories in the north-west. The later Vijayanagara inscriptions aver, with reference to this expedition, that "as he danced about the battle-field the faces of the Turushkas shrivelled up (and) Konkaṇa Shanka was filled up with fear".[16] It

[14] Cf., Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula*, p. 216.

[15] The presence of an inscription of Harihara I at Badami, shows that his kingdom stretched in the north as far as, if not beyond, this point. (Cf., *B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XV, p. 38 (*N.S.J.*). But shortly afterwards we find this territory included in the Bahmanī kingdom.

[15a] Ferishta-Briggs, II, p. 301.

[16] *E.C.*, V, Hn. 7; VI, Kp. 25; VII, Ci. 13; VIII, Tl. 200, 201; XII, Tp. 9; *MAR*, 1916, para. 28, p. 59; *MAR*, 1933, no. 25, p. 153. The Koṅkaṇa king Shanka is also called Shankapārya

is not possible to say whether in the course of this incursion Bukka entered the present Goa territory. Yet it is significant that the inscriptions do not mention the Kadambas, the erstwhile principal power in the Konkan. The reason seems to have been that after the overthrow of the Kadambas by Ḥasan Gangu, Shankapārya, who was possibly their Sāmanta transferred his allegiance to Ḥasan, who allowed him to continue in his old capacity. It was thus that Bukka encountered him, when he overran the Bahmanī dominions in the Konkan. We have at present no means of knowing exactly who this Shankapārya was. If, however, as has been suggested, he was the ancestor of Shankara, who is described as the chief of Khelna (Vīśhalgad) in the fifteenth century, he may have ruled the coastal strip between the Vashisti and the Muchkundi rivers[17].

The expedition of Bukka was no more than a raid, and nothing seems to have been achieved during its course. Not an inch of ground was added to the territories of the Empire, and the contemporary inscriptions, which would surely have made capital of it had it been otherwise, do not as much as say a word. Its only success lay in this, that the Vijayanagara armies returned safely to their base after laying waste the country, without having

in some of these inscriptions. This is perhaps the Sanskritized form of Shankap(p)a Raya.

Mr. Varde Valavlikar places this incursion into the Bahmanī territories in 1366 A.D. and connects it with the conquest of Goa by Mādhava. I regret I cannot accept this view. Firishta's description of the campaigns of Muḥammad in 1365—67, as a continuous Muslim victory is confirmed by the absence of the Vijayanagara records beyond the confines of their Banavasi 12000 province. This is in no way strange, for the simple reason that it was only after the destruction of the Muhammadan principality of Madura, and when their power was securely established in South India, that the Vijayanagara sovereigns could assume the offensive against the Bahmani Sultans. This they could do only after 1377, and then Bukka was already dead.

[17] Cf., Varde Valavlikar, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-99.

their retreat cut off—a fact, which must have provided the later eulogists with a basis for their panegyric of Bukka. The efforts of Kanhayya too proved equally futile. And the Muhammadans, flushed with victory, carried the war into the enemy's own country[18].

Intoxicated with these victories, the Sultan on one occasion insulted the Vijayanagara Emperor in a fit of drunkenness by rewarding his dancers and singers at a drinking bout with a draft on his (Vijayanagara) treasury. Bukka forthwith crossed the Tungabhadra, and besieged Mudgal. The fortress was carried by assault, and the garrison mercilessly put to the sword. This challenge was taken up by Muhammad, who swore a solemn oath to avenge the massacre of Mudgal by a slaughter of 100,000 infidels. It is needless for our present purpose to trace the course of this war. Suffice it to say, the Sultan literally kept his word, and before Bukka could sue for peace, horrified by the refinements of cruelty visited on his coreligionists, 400,000 Hindus had lost their lives[19].

It is but reasonable to assume that the Hindu subjects of the Bahmanīs could not have escaped this religious fury of the Sultan. Goa too must have had her share of the general persecution. The Konkaṇākhyāna doubtless refers to these penal times, when it observes that fearing defilement on the part of Mlēchchhas, the image of Saptakotēśvar, the family deity of the Goa Kadambas, was removed from its original pedestal in the temple of Divar, in Tissuadi, and buried in a neighbouring rice-field[20]. Here it presumably lay until the restoration of the temples by the Vijayanagara general Mādhava on his conquest of the Koṅkaṇ.

It may have been at this time, when the persecution

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[18] Ferishta-Briggs, II, p. 304.

[19] *Cambridge History of India*, III, p. 380.

[20] *Ibid.*, Ferishta-Briggs, II, pp. 308—11.

had reached its peak, that many a heroic Hindu bade adieu to his native land to seek an asylum in the neighbouring territory of Kanara, which was still in Hindu hands.[21] These 'pilgrim fathers', who founded this the first Goan colony in Kanara, are the so-called Chitrapur Saraswats. The reason for this statement is that, whereas fleeing before the Portuguese persecutor their confreres of a later day turned both to the north and to the south of Goa[22], the Chitrapur Saraswats on the contrary could seek shelter only in the south, since the north Koṅkaṇ was also in the possession of Muhammadans.

For the next ten years, from 1367 onwards, there was no warfare between Vijayanagara and Gulburga. But with the accession of Mujāhid in 1377, the relations between the two powers were again strained. Despite his victories against his adversary, Mujāhid's career was brought to an untimely end by the hand of the assassin on the night of April 17, 1378.[23] The kingdom was thereupon distracted by faction fights, which were mainly responsible for the weakness of the next reign of Muhammad II, who ascended the throne in the next month and who has been ingeniously described by Muslim chroniclers as a peaceful

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[21] Either Vijayanagara itself, or the chiefs of Gersoppa and Bhatkal.

[22] This, the later emigration of the Goa Brāhmaṇas to Kanara is traceable in a number of inscriptions. Panchamukhi, *Report*, Nos. 84 and 82. The former, which is of 1546 A.D. at Bhatkal states that 'Khetappaya Nārāyaṇa of the Bhāradvāja gōtra, a resident of Kudutare-grāma in Ashṭagrāma in Sāśashti-dêśa, south of Gove-rājya, caused to be built the Khetappaya Nārāyaṇa temple. The latter also at Bhatkal states that Sātapa Nāyaka of Loṭṭavaḷḷi agrahāra comprised in the Sāśashṭi-deśa south of Goverājya, erected a temple to Tiruvengalēśa at Mudbhatkal.' Similarly, a local prince at Karkal is reported to have built the Venkataramaṇa temple for the Brāhmaṇa emmigrants from Goa in 1537 A.D. Cf., Igal, *Dakshiṇa Kannaḍa Jilleya Prāchīna Itihāsa*, p. 336.

[23] King, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

monarch[24]. This situation was turned to account by Vijayanagara, now the undisputed mistress of South India, to extend her frontiers to the north at her rival's expense. And the task was entrusted to Mādhava, the viceroy in charge of the westerly province of Banavāsi.

Scholar, statesman, and general, Mādhava dominates the stage of Vijayanagara history in the west for well-nigh half a century. He is described as a Brāhmana either of the Bharadvāja[25] or the Āngirasa[26] gotra, apparently because the one was merely a sept of the other[27]. Mr. Vaede Valavlikar who distinguishes three Madhavas in the contemporary records that refer to him, observes that he was a Kashmiri Brāhmaṇa, and therefore of the same caste as the Goa Saraswats.[28] But it is questionable whether any such relationship can be established between the two groups. For, as has already been pointed out by Rao Bahadur S. S. Talmaki, "the Kashmir Saraswats are of the Laugākshi Sutra, of the Kāta Shākha, while the Goa Saraswats are of the Ashwalāyan Sūtra and Shakala Shākha"[29]. Mādhava was a dutiful son; and the day on

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[24] *Burhān-i-Maaşir* in King, *op. cit.*, pp. 32 and 33.

[25] Acharya, "*Chaudala Grant of Harihara II: Saka Samvat 1313,*" *E.I.*, XX, p. 23; *Report of ASIWC.*, 1920, p. 56; Manchalāpura Plates, cf. Heras, *art. cit.*, p. 27; Pissurlencar," Um Passo do Chronista Barros elucidado a Luz duma *Inscricão Sanscrita*, "*Oriente Portuguez*, No. 18, p. 37 (Portuguese translation); p. 46 (Sanskrit Text); Pissurlencar, *Inscricões Pre-Portuguesas de Goa*, pp. 41—61; the note in *JBBRAS*, IX, p. 225, by the late Dr. Bhau Daji refers to these plates. Cf. Varde Valavlikar, *op. cit.*, p. 104 note.

[26] *E.C.*, VII, sk 281; cf. *ASR.*, 1907-8, p. 238 *n* 2; *MER*, 1928-29, p. 82.

[27] Kane, *History of Dharmasastra*, Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 1263.

[28] Varde Valavlikar, *op. cit.*, pp. 91; 101-102.

[29] Talmaki, *Saraswat Families*, Pt. II, pp. 11-12. The descendants of the Kashmiri Brāhmaṇas, spoken of in E.C., VII, Sk. 281 are still to be found in the village of Muchandi. Cf. Talmaki, *op. cit.*, p. 18. It is significant that they are described in this inscription as of the Kāta Shākha, a fact, which amply demonstrates their Kashmiri descent.

which he founded the agarhāra at the village of Kochre (in the Savāṇtwadi State) thereafter called Mādhavapur[30], as a memorial of his rule over the Konkan, he founded two more in perpetuation of the memory of his parents. These were the agrahāras of Manchalapura[31] and Chauḍalpura[32] established at Paramarūpa (Pomburpa? and Tiswadi respectively, and so named after his father Chauḍa, Chauḍibaṭṭa, Chauṇḍa or Chāmuṇḍa and his mother Māchambika. Next to his parents, Mādhava seems to have venerated his preceptor Kāśivilāsa Kriyāśakti. He was a celebrated Śaiva teacher of the period, and belonged to the famous Kāḷāmukha sect[33] and was the *Kulaguru* of Bukka I and Harihara II.[34] In his Tātparyadīpika, a commentary which he wrote on a philosophical treatise entitled Sūtasaṁhitā, Mādhava expressly mentions Kriyāśakti and humbly subscribes himself as his disciple.[35] An inscription of his has it that "through the astonishing favour of his master Kāśivilāsa, a manifest incarnation of Girīśa (he) gained celebrity as a Śaiva,"[36] and we know from other sources that he was a devotee of the god Triyambaka, a manifestation of Śiva.[37]

Like his namesake and contemporary Mādhavāchārya Vidyāraṇya, Mādhava Mantri was also a literary celebrity. The Chaudala grant describes him as 'the expounder of the Upanishads, the illuminator of the *Śaiva-*

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30 Le Grand Jacob, "observations on three copper-plate grants, etc.," *JBBRAS*, IV, pp. 109—115.

31 See note 25.

32 Cf. *MAR*, 1041, pp. 166, 168-9.

33 *E.C.*, V, Cn. 256; *E.C.*, VII, sk 281; E.C., VIII, sb 375; *MER*, 1925, p. 88; *MAR*, 1911-12, para. 99; *MAR*, 1919, p. 34; Kundangar, "*Hosahaḷḷi Copper-plate Grant of Harihara II,*" *JBHS*. I, p. 127, ll. 55-56.

34 Ayyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 51.

35 *E.C.*, VII, sk 281.

36 *I.A.*, XLV, p. 17; Manchalapur plates as in note 25 above; *E.C.*, VIII, sb 1?1; VII, sk 281.

āgamas, the author of Kāvyas, the performer of Mahādanas (and) the teacher of *Nītiśāstras*'. In the Hejje and the Katavaḷḷi copper-plates of 1347, he is said to have 'composed after a careful study of the Vedas and Purāṇas and Samhitas a work consisting of the essence of the Śaiva-āgamas'.[37] The Katavaḷḷi plates give the additional detail that Mādhava wrote this work in collaboration with his royal master Mārapa. This may have been the Tātparyadīpikā itself,[38] or another work of similar nature. Be that as it may, the records are unanimous in their praise of his intellectual attainments. "He is an astonishing expert in policy", says the Haromuchchadi epigraph of 1368, "like Bṛhaspati in exceeding wisdom; and though a *suri* (or learned man) is always composing poetry, which gives new pleasure to the minds of all." And again, proceeding, he "cleared and made plain the ruined path of the Upanishads, which was overgrown and dangerous from the serpents and proud advocates of evil doctrines"[39]. It may be inferred from this interesting notice that an orthodox Brāhmaṇa, Mādhava vanquished by his writings and disputations teachers who by their new-fangled doctrines were leading the people astray from the old and tried teachings of the Upanishads, as inference confirmed by the title bestowed on him in the same record, viz., *Upanishanmārga-pratishṭhāguru*, 'praised by the wise as the guru who established the path of the Upanishads'. His zeal for his religion is further attested by the Manchalapur plates, above referred to. He is there described as "the diffuser of the teachings of the Upanishads and the Vedas," and as "devoted to

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[37] *Saivāgama-Sārasangraha*; *E.C.*, VIII, Sb 375; *MAR*, 129, p. 160.

[38] Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 172.

[39] *E.C.*, VII, Sk 281.

duties as laid down in Śrutis and Smṛtis"[40]. His own sect naturally took rapid strides during his time. Justifying the panegyric of the epigraph that "he was a moon in causing the sea of the Śaivāgama to rise".

As a soldier Mādhava had achieved equally high distinction, and he is styled Vasanta or spring-season of heroes[41]. He combined in himself "Brāhmaṇa purity and Kshatriya victorious power for protecting the earth from fear"[42]. In summing up his statesmanlike and warlike qualities, the Banavāsi Madhukeśvara temple epigraph observes that he was "an Āñjaneya in managing the affairs of his lord, a Bhīmasēna in blotting out of existence Duśśāsana, that is evil advice and wicked government of bad ministers, endowed with invincible powers, possessor of incalculable strength, skilled in the Rig, Yajus, Sāma, and Atharva Vedas and Vedangas, a young lion on the peak of the mountain, that is the kingdom of 16,000 *janapadas* (villages) including the lion seat of Kubera shining in the city of Gōva on the shore of the western ocean, and Banavāsi situated near the Gomanta hill adorning the Kuntala kingdom"[43].

The early Viceroys of Vijayanagara were all princes of the royal family. Accordingly, it was as a subordinate of Mārapa, the brother of Harihara I, that Mādhava makes his appearance for the first time in history. Mārapa was then in charge of the Banavāsi 12000 with Chandragutti as its capital [44]. Mādhava, his minister, would seem to have made his mark as an administrator from the

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[40] Heras, *art. cit.*, Pissurlencar, *art. cit.*

[41] *E.C.*, VII, Hl 71 and 84. Vīra Vasantarāya, a mythological hero is believed by the Lingāyats to come and destroy future evil kings. Cf. Rama Rao, "Some Problems of Identity in Early Vijayanagar History," *QJMS*, XIX, p. 254.

[42] *E.C.*, VII, Sk 281.

[43] *MAR*, 1929, No. 115, p. 194.

[44] *Ibid.*, No. 90, p. 169.

outset; for the earliest records speak of him as 'a navigator of the deep sea of the government of the great kingdom, who surpassed even Bṛhaspati by the power of his wisdom'.[45] Certainly, this is not merely conventional praise on the part of the court poet. For, wherever he went he signalized his administration by works of public utility. Even before he came with his royal master to Gutti as minister, he had won the gratitude of the people by building a dam across the Kāveri near Talkad in the T.-Narsapur taluk of the Mysore state, which still bears his name; and at Hampi itself he had erected a temple of Paraśurāma on the Mātanga hill overlooking the plains below long before the city of Vijayanagara rose there. In describing these works, the poet remarks: "The illustrious Mādhava has gained merit extending over the whole universe since the bridge built by him shines in the waters of the Kāveri as a flag of his glory, and the extensive temple of Śiva erected by him on the top of the Mātanga hill stands as a pillar of his righteousness and the great golden mountain is set up in the houses of the learned men by the gift made by him in accordance with the treatise of Hemādri"[46].

It is worth noting that the early inscriptions do not credit him with any victories over the Turushkas, viz., the Muhammadans. Indeed as we have already seen, under the early Bahmanī kings, Vijayanagara had been put on the defensive, with the result that she had to rest content with what had remained to her of the Banavāsi 12000. This province had now so considerably shrunk in its

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 168; *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 375.

[46] *MAR*, 1929, p. 169, 172; *E.C.*, III, T.-Narsapur 13; *MAR*, 1912, p. 12; Lunghurst, *Hampi Ruins*, p. 118. It has been suggested that the name of Mādhava inscribed on a wall in the Vaidēśvara temple at Talkad as a devotee of Vaidyalinga probably denotes Mādhava Mantri. *MAR*, 1938, p. 231. It has also been supposed that Mādhava was a native of Talkad, *Ibid.*, p. 191.

dimensions that the city of Banavāsi itself bordered on the Bahmanī territory. This accounts for the fact that though the name was retained, the heaquarters were transferred to Chandragutti, in the present Sorab taluka, obviously a more central place to the south-east[47]. The only achievement of Vijayanagara during these early years was the incursion of Mārapa into the present North Kanara district which brought him as far as Gokarṇa.[48] But naturally enough the raid left no permanent effects. The Kadamba king defeated on this occasion was either the king of that dynasty ruling at Banavāsi, whom we have elsewhere identified with Purandara Rāya, or a scion of the same family who ruled over a part of North Kanara with Chandavar in the Kumpta taluka as his capital[49].

After Mārapa's death, Mādhava continued to govern the Banavāsi 12,000 during the reign of Bukka I.[50] But owing to its diminished size it was soon annexed to Araga which then became the seat of government. We learn from an inscription of 1367 that Virupa-Rāya, the son of Bukka I "was ruling in peace, the kingdom of Araga Eighteen Kampaṇas, the Gutti Eighteen Kampaṇas and Idugundi, the Konkaṇa and Hoysaṇa kingdom being the

[47] After the annexation of Goa and Kanara this province had 16000 janapadas or villages. *MAR*, 1929, No. 115, p. 194, and with the extension of the empire to the north, Banavāsi again seems to have been restored to its old position as capital. *JBBRAS*, IV, p. 108.

[48] *E.C.*, VII, Sb 375; *MAR*, 1929, No. 90, p. 167.

[49] Mr. Varde Valavlikar maintains that in the course of this campaign Mārapa also overran the Goa territory, and that the king defeated was a Goa Kadamba. The inscriptions, I regret to say, do not warrant this inference. What they say is merely that Mārapa "conquered in battle the Kadamba king and repaired in joy to witness the god Śiva in the form of Gōkarṇanātha, the origin of the universe . . ." Starting from Chandragutti, the capital, the only Kadamba princes he could meet in battle were those of Banavāsi (cf. Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula*, pp. 162-63.) or Chandavar. The inscription, it must be noted, does not speak of his progress beyond Gōkarṇa. Comment is needless.

[50] *MAR*, 1929, p. 172.

boundaries"[51]. Mādhava remained in office, for, in an inscription, dated 4th March, 1369, he is styled "Mahāpradhāna of Virupaṇṇodeyaṇ[52]. But since the Banavāsi 12,000 was just an appendage, it continued to be administered separately and became the sole charge of Mādhava. Accordingly, in other inscriptions of the same period, we find him represented as an immediate subordinate of Bukka I.[53] "While the illustrious Vīra Bukka Raya," says one of these records, dated 17th May, 1368, "was reigning in peace and wisdom at Hastināvati . . . the illustrious Mahāpradhāna Mādhavānka was reigning over Banavāsi 12,000".[54] The object of the appointment of Mādhava is set forth in the Haromuchchadi epigraph dated 15 November, 1368. It was none other than the consolidation of the conquests of Mārapa on the west coast spoken of above. For the record avers that Mādhava "accepted the government as far as the Western Ocean, in order to have an oversight of that kingdom without trouble."[55]

Mādhava took to his task seriously. By 1375 he had succeeded in strengthening the hold of Vijayanagara on the Kanara coast as far as Gokarṇa. The presence of an inscription of Bukka at this place enables us to conclude that by 1375 when this record was issued he had almost brought to a successful conclusion his mission in this district[56]. It may reasonably be supposed that in the course

[51] *E.C.*, VII, No. 34; see also *E.C.*, VI, Koppa 6 of 1368.

[52] *MAR*, 1936, No. 25, p. 94; *MAR*, 1916, p. 56.

[53] *MAR*, 1936, No. 116, p. 196; *E.C.*, VII, Sk. 281, 282.

[54] *Mar*, 1936, No. 116, p. 196; 130 of 1935-36 (*MER*); *I.A.* IV, p. 206; *JBBRAS*, XII, p. 340.

[55] *E.C.*, VII, Sk. 281.

[56] Buchannan, *Travels*, III, p. 170. He records the local tradition according to which from the time of Mādhava till that of Bhairadēvi the Mahābaleśvara temple at Gokarṇa possessed an income of 12,000 pagodas. (P. 181.) In his Śringeri plates Lakshmanna refers to the grants made by his father Baichaṇṇa

of this campaign he should have come into hostile contact with the ancient Kadamba house of Chandavar. Kāmadeva was then on the throne described in a later inscription as "Rājādhirāja", "chief lord of Banavāsipura, chief lord of Konkaṇa, and Haive kingdom" and as "the glory of the Chandavār Kadamba-Kula"[57]. No successors of his are known to have come to the throne, and we may safely affirm that he was the last ruler of dynasty. What is more, in an inscription of 1390 A.D. recording a gift by his daughter Padmalādēvi to a temple at Omanjuru (near Mangalore) Kāmadēva figures, but shorn of all his titles[58], a conclusive proof that the Chandavar house had by then already become mediatized[59]. The exact date of the break-up of the Kadamba

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Voḍeya and his ancestor (grandfather?) Madharase for services in the Amṛtesvara and Mahabalēśvara temples in the sacred place Gokarṇa. *MAR*, 1934, No. 29, p. 124.

[57] *E.C.*, VII, Sa. 55.

[58] 465 of 1928-29.

[59] In the course of my study of the history of North Kanara I have come across a number of inscriptions which refer to the Kadamba dynasty of Chandavar which was not noticed in my *Kadamba-Kula*; the earliest of these is *E.C.*, VIII, Sa. 30. It is undated; the date 1000 A.D. however assigned by Rice seems erroneous. It belongs to the reign of Bīrarasa's son Bommorasa, a Sāntara chief, who appears to have ruled during the third quarter of the thirteenth century. We have it here that the combined forces of the Kadamba-chakravartti Chandāvur Tailapa-Dēva's son Kāva-Dēva and the Kadamba-chakravartti Tribhuvanamalla-Dēva's son Chaṭṭeya-Dēva invaded the territories of Bommarasa, above the Ghauts. Tribhuvanamalla and Chaṭṭeya here mentioned are easily identified with Tribhuvanamalla and Shastha-dēva of the Goa Kadamba family. Cf., *Kadamba Kula*, pp. 206—209. Kava-Deva of Chandavar seems to have been the same as the Kāma-dēva, who figures as the brother-in-law of Shastha in a Goa Kadamba record of this period. *I.A.*, XIV, p. 288. The other members of the Chandayar family so far known are Basava-Dēva, already noticed in my paper on "Hariab of Ibn Batuta" in *JBBRAS*, Vol. XV, p. 41 (N.S.). The last ruler of the dynasty is the Kāmadēva spoken of above.

[60] *E.C.*, VII, Sk. 75. Mādhava is here said to be governing Araga, Gutti and other provinces of the Maledaśa.

power, however, cannot be determined with certainty. But it is at all events evident that Kanara was settled sometime after 1377[60] and before 1380[61], and the Vijayanagara supremacy was acknowledged by Haiveya-bhūpāla[62], the chief of Nagire, the other power on the Kanara coast that had hitherto successfully resisted all attempts of the Viceroys to impose the Vijayanagara hegemony.

Once the task of consolidation was complete, and the allegiance of the feudatories secured, Mādhava endeavoured to extend the boundaries of his province by encroaching upon the Bahmanī possessions. In an inscription of 1379 he is described as "the great minister, a terror to hostile kings, champion of three kings", and most significant of all, as "the destroyer of the Turushka army"[63]. And the title of Vira Vasanta bestowed on him was evidently by virtue of the victories won by him in Kanara no less than against the Bahmanīs. In 1379, however, the conflict with the latter seems to have been confined to warfare along the frontier of the Banavāsi 12,000, since contrary to the practice of later inscriptions the record is silent about his most notable achievement, viz., the conquest and annexation of the Konkan[64].

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[61] Heras, "Goa Viragal of the time of Harihara II", *QJMS*, XIX, pp. 27-28 of 1380, where Mallappodeyar is said to be governing the kingdom of Haive; also *E.I.*, III, pp. 117-18.

[62] Contrast *MAR*, 1928, No. 108, pp. 96-97 of 1378 A.D., where Haiveya-bhūpāla is given almost imperial titles, such as *Śivasiṁhāsana chakravarti*, with Panchamukhi, *op. cit.*, Nos. 35 & 56, pp. 83-84 of 1938, where the same ruler is styled Mahā-maṇḍaleśvara and where the inscriptions refer themselves to the reign of Harihara II, his overlord. In compelling the Nagire chiefs thus to acknowledge the Vijayanagara supremacy, the Viceroy of Barkur must have worked in concert with Mādhava.

[63] *E.C.*, VII, Hn. 84.

[64] Contrast this with the inscription Hn. 71 of 1396 in the same taluk, where along with this title of 'destroyer of the

It must have soon become apparent that much headway could not be made against the Bahmanī positions above the Ghauts, as these could be easily defended from Gulburga. Accordingly, following a new strategy, one army marched into the old Yadava province of Toragal in which the district of Gadag was situated[65] liberating it from the Muslims, while Mādhava himself proceeded at the head of another army to the north, making Kanara his base of operations. He crossed the Kalinadi, which then as at a later date may have formed the boundary between the Bahmani and the Vijayanagara possessions on the coast[66], and "captured Gova the capital of Konkana. And having killed the Turushkas, who were established there, he reinstated the gods Saptanātha and others who had been removed by them"[67]. This must have taken place between 1st September 1379 and April 1380, for, as said above, the records of Mādhava of the former date do not allude to this victory, while those of April 1380 and after refer to Konkana as already a Vijayanagara possession.

It is not improbable that in this war against the Bahamanī Muhammadans valuable help was rendered by the local Hindu population under the leadership of the

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Turrushka army' he is given others such as 'reducer of the seven Konkaṇas to dust', 'plunderer of Kadamba', and 'boon-lord of Gova-pura', etc., indicative of his work in the Konkan.

[65] Fleet, "Copper-plate grants of the kings of Vijyanagara", *JBBRAS*, Vol. XII, p. 377.

[66] Dames, *The Book of Duarte Bardosa*, I, p. 182; Birch, *The Commentaries of Dalbugnerque*, II, p. 82.

[67] Acharya, *art. cit.*, *E.I.*, p. 23; Le Grand Jacob, *art. cit.*, p. 118. Mr. Varde Valablikar would have us believe that Mādhava was instructed by Bukka I to annex Goa (p. 62). But Bukka had died on Sunday Phālguṇa *b* 1, Naḷa Saṁvatsara, S.S. 1298. Since Phālguṇa *b* 1 fell on Sunday the next year, viz. Pingaḷa we may take it that Nala is a mistake, and then the date would correspond to 14th February, 1378. Cf. Pillai, *An Indian Ephemeris*, IV, p. 358. Else it is 25th February, 1377, the weekday not corresponding.

mediatized Kadamba house[68]. This must have made possible Mādhava's easy victory. It was naturally expected that Mādhava would reinstate the old rulers and retire to his own province. When therefore the people were disappointed in their expectations they made an attempt to eject their erstwhile liberators by force of arms. "Some base persons born in the Konkaṇa country", says a Vijayanagara inscription, dated Tuesday, Raudri Samvatsara Vaisaka *s* 13 (18th April, 1380), alluding to this event, "having risen against him (Mādhava)", in the war which followed "Baichappa greatly distinguished himself, gained the heavenly world, and attained the feet of Jina[69]." The movement appears to have assumed serious proportions and strained considerably the resources of Vijayanagara on the coast. For, unable to cope with the situation with the inadequate forces at his command, Mādhava was compelled to requisition help from his colleague the Viceroy of Kanara. "While the Mahāpradhāna Mallappoḍeyar was governing the kingdom of Haive," says a viragal now in the Museo Lapidario of Velha Goa, commemorating the death of a hero who fell in this war, "on Wednesday, Raudri Samvatsara Bhādrapada *b* 14 (29th August, 1380) Mallapoḍeyar went to war and a battle took place near Maḍiyagombu, and Timmanāyaka of Muddakalla near Ranva, belonging to the household of Mallapoḍeyar died in the battle and attained heaven"[70].

[68] One such mediatized Kadamba house is noticed in *E.C.*, VII, Śk. 240 and 241 of 1442 and the other is of 465 of 1928-29 of the year 1390.

[69] *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 152. Baichappa, the hero of this viragal, is mistakenly identified by Gopinatha Rao with Baichaṇṇa Vodeya, who describes himself as a *kumāra* of Mādhava in a later record. Cf., Gopinatha Rao, "Srisilam Plates of Virupaksha", *E.I.*, XV, p. 12. The Baicha of this viragal is merely a soldier. Nor can one agree with this author when he applies the biruda which is clearly that of Mādhava, viz., "Sapta Koṅkaṇa dhūḷi paṭṭa" to Baicha.

[70] Heras, *art. cit.*, p. 28.

Significantly enough, the record of Mādhava which speaks of the resistance of the Konkaṇigas is dated a little over four months before Mallappoḍeyar joined up with his contingent. If the identification of Madiyagomou with Madkai be correct[71], this decisive battle between the Konkaṇa and Vijayanagara forces took place almost on the outskirts of Tiswadi in the present district of Ponda. The reinforcements under Mallappoḍeyar arrived just in the nick of time to prevent the patriot troops from marching on the island of Goa. The combined Vijayanagara armies easily reduced the Konkaṇigas to submission. "An ornament to kings", avers an epigraph of 1396, "Mādhava . . . reduced to atoms (Kaṇastha) the rulers of Koṅkaṇa and entered Goa famous in all ages (Kalpāntarāvam) and seated himself on the throne renowned in stories"[72]. Another epigraph of the same year accords to him among others, the titles of "the reducer of the Seven Konkaṇas to dust", "plunderer of Kadambas", and "protector of the people of Kadamba-pura"[73]. And so this bid of the people of Goa for independence ended in a failure[74], and the torch of freedom was for ever put out in the Konkaṇ. A similar attempt in 1510-11 to expel the Bijapuris with the help of another foreign power (the Portuguese) only succeeded in exchanging one domination for another.

The Kshatriyas of Goa had to pay a heavy penalty for this resistance. Their hopes of regaining their old

[71] Mr. Varde Valavlikar tells me that he has suggested this identification in his paper in *Viridhajnanavistar*. But this is inaccessible to me.

[72] *MAR*, 1941, p. 202.

[73] *E.C.*, VIII, Hl. 71.

[74] Thanks to the triumph of the Vijayanagara armies in the Konkan Harihara II could say that having conquered Konkaṇa among other countries, he ruled the earth. *MAR*, 1916, p. 58; *Ibid.*, 33, pp. 136-7; Kundangar, "Hosall Plates of Harihara II", *JBHS*, I, p. 130; *E.C.*, XII, Tl. 129.

position in the local administration were crushed, and their place was taken, first by outsiders, and then by the local Brahmanas, who slowly worked their way into the favour of Vijayanagara bureaucracy. We are told in the Konkaṇākhyāna that some time after the departure of Mādhava from Goa, the Vijayanagara Emperor appointed a son-in-law of the house of the Deshmukhs of Bandora, as the Kārbhāri or administrator of Konkaṇa[75]. The same work, in referring to a grant, which he made to the god at Nageshi in the Vijaya Samvatsara, S.S. 1335, says that he was a Wāgḷe[76]. From the inscription, which still stands at Nageshi we learn that his name was Māi Seṇavai, son of Puruso Seṇavai, and that they were natives of Cuncolim (Kukaḷḷi) in the present district of Ponda[77]. This discouragement of the Kshatriyas during the Vijayanagara regime probably accounts for the fact that at the Portuguese conquest of Goa, the Brāhmaṇas were found in more affluent circumstances than the Kshatriyas. Had it not been for the living guaranteed to them in their village communities, the Kshatriyas would have in all likelihood been reduced to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water for their masters. But unlike Portugal in later times, Vijayanagara far from interfering with their economic arrangements contented itself with depriving this class of their privileged position.

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[75] Viz., the ancestor of the chief Sardesai Pratap Rao of Bokadbhag. Cf., Varde Valavlikar, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

[76] Mr. Varde Valavlikar says that the fact is also mentioned in the *Goēnchi Pārkhāval*, a work written in 1801 by Sadashiva Kamat Vag, a diplomatic agent of the Goa Government. *Loc. cit.*

[77] Varde, "An eye copy of an inscription in Devanagari characters" *JBBRAS*, XXIII, p. 107; Wagle, *Gomantakāntil Śri Nāgeśi-devasthānāchā Sachitra Itihās*, p. 26 (Bombay 1923). The *Konkanākhyāna* further says that since that time the Wagles enjoy the highest honour in the temple of Nageśi, *loc. cit.*

[78] *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 428 of 1383.

After the pacification of the country was complete Mādhava seems to have made Goa the capital of the Araga-Gutti kingdom, leaving a subordinate official at Gutti to carry on the administration[78] in his name[79]. A damaged inscription at Banavāsi dated 25th November, 1387, contains sufficient information to show that Mādhava was ruling the whole province from his capital at Goa. For the part of the inscription which is intact mentions Gova-nagara and Vanavāsi 12,000[80]. As governor or Viceroy of Goa, Mādhava made in the same year some gifts to the god Subramaṇya, the shrine of the name in the South Kanara district. In the inscriptions[81] which record these, Mādhava is styled "Govapurādhīśa". or lord of Goa, perhaps the earliest mention of Mādhava with this title [82]. In the Hire-Avani (Sorab Taluk) inscription of 16th November, 1389, he is styled "Mahāpradhāni mantri-śirōmaṇi Mādarasa Oḍeya"[83].

In 1390 A.D. on finding this province of Araga-Gutti too unwieldy for efficient administration, the original arrangement was restored. Araga became a separate province with the great minister Mallap-Odeyar" as its Viceroy[84]. Chandragutti was made an apanage of the Goa kingdom[85]. But it was soon felt imperative that an experienced general should be stationed within striking

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[79] *Ibid.*, Tl. 147.

[80] 127 of 1935-36, (Bombay Karnatak).

[81] 384 and 387 of 1927-28; 2 of 1928-29; Sewell, I, p. 238.

[82] *MER*, 128-29, para. 56, p. 82.

[83] *E.C.*, VIII, Sb 116.

[84] *E.C.*, VII, Sk 313.

[85] *E.C.*, VIII, Sb 382. This inscription records a grant of Elamballi in the Nāgarkhaṇḍe-nāḍ made by the Brahmanas of Elase and Kuppagadde in the Gutti 18 kampaṇas to a certain Nāraṇa-dēva in the presence of "Saptanātha of Gove on the shore of the ocean". For a grant to be made at Goa this must have been the principal *rājadhāni*, drawing to itself the business of the rest of the province.

reach of the frontier: "Harihara there consulting with his ministers, concluded that his empire would be of short duration, if the prime minister were not in his own territory". Mādhava was therefore recalled from his rājadhāni at Goa, promoted to regal status and anointed as ruler of Banavāsi[86]. There is an undated inscription at Bankapur which refers to Mādhava Mantri as governor of the Male country. It mentions a prince of the Vijayanagara family, viz., Harihara, alias Haryaṇṇa, the son of Kampa, as his subordinate[87]; it may therefore be assigned to this period, for, as we have seen, earlier in his career he had always acted under some prince of the blood royal or the other. To this period too is to be assigned another undated inscription which Mr. Rice, on grounds of paleography places about the year 1391[88]. The imperial titles applied to him are obviously a mistake and should have been accorded to Harihara, his overlord. Still they are indicative of the changed status which he now enjoyed.

Naraharimantri succeeded him in the Goa Viceroyalty early in April 1391[89]. He was a Brāhmaṇa of the Ātreya-gōtra and a son of Brahmarasa and of his wife Manchambika[90]. It is said that he was a disciple of the sage Vidyāśankara and that Mādhava Mantri installed him in his office[91]. This association with Mādhava in-

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[86] Le Grand Jacob, *art. cit.*, p. 108.

[87] 1 of 1933-34 (Bombay Karnatak).

[88] *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 181.

[89] Le Grand Jacob, *art. cit.*, pp. 105, 111, 116. Mādhava was in Goa at the time of the gift of Kochura, but had already left for Banavasi when the grant was made. Cf., Rama Rao, *art. cit.*, p. 256. There does not seem to be much support for the view of Rao Bahadur Narasimhachar that the Kochre grant may have been made at his death-bed. *I.A.*, XLV, p. 5.

[90] Acharya, *art. cit.*, p. 23; Le Grand Jacob, *art. cit.*, p. 108.

[91] Acharya, *loc. cit.*

clines us to identify Vidyāśankara here spoken of rather with Kriyāśakti, who thus becomes the guru of both, than with Vidyātīrtha of the Śringeri Maṭha, though it is true that the latter is called Vidyāśankara in later literature[92]. Narahari is described as a man of kingly presence, and a devotee and patron of learning[93]. He held the office for about four years, until 1395, when he was succeeded by Baichaṇṇa Voḍeyar[94].

Like his predecessor the new Viceroy was also a Brāhmaṇa. He too belonged to the Atreya gotra[95] and was known as Bhāskara[96]. The Kochre plates tell us that Narahari had a brother of this name who was already well-known[97]. Can it be that Baichaṇṇa was this brother of Narahari? A copy of a copper plate grant of Lakshumaṇṇa, the son of Baicha, entered in a *Kaḍita* at Śringēri Maṭha seems to confirm our view. There it is stated that Bommarasa of Rōṇ, a Brahmana of the Atreya gōtra and Rik-śākha was the father of Baichaṇṇa Voḍeya, governor of Goa[98]. There is hardly any question that Bommarasa is a Kanarese corruption of Brahmarasa.

But a more intriguing piece of information is that supplied by the Surahonne epigraph above referred to[99]. Baicha is here styled the "Kumāra" or son of Vasanta Mādhava. Now, arguing from the difference which the gotras make when this term is understood literally, it has been maintained that Vasanta Mādhava and Mādhava Mantri are two different persons, one of the Atreya and

92 *MAR*, 1941, p. 205.
93 Le Grand Jacob, *loc. cit.*
94 *E.C.*, VII, Hl. 71; *MAR*, 1941, p. 202.
95 *E.C.*, VII, Hl. 71.
96 *MAR*, 1941, p. 212.
97 Le Grand Jacob, *loc. cit.*
98 *MAR*, 1934, No. 29, pp. 125 & 126.
99 *E.C.*, VII, Hl. 71.

the other of the Angirasa gotra[100]. In this connection it is well to remember that the word Kumāra need not necessarily connote a filial relationship. It may imply merely a protegee or dependent. This practice to describe themselves as the "sons" of their patrons was indeed fairly common among dependents during the period of the Hoysaḷa and the Vijayanagara empires[101]. A more definite clue as to the exact relationship between them is provided by the Śringēri plates of Lakshumaṇṇa. These refer to Mādhava as the 'hiriya' or 'elder' of the donor[102]. This would mean that he was in some way an ascendant of the latter, and since the gotras of the two were different they could only have been related on Lakshumaṇṇa's maternal side. We may take it that Mādhava was his maternal grandfather, and if this were really the case, what is more natural than that Baicha, who owed his elevation in a great degree to his patronage should choose to describe himself rather as his son than as his son-in-law?

Baichanna was much more warlike than his immediate predecessor Narahari. We have it in his earliest record issued on the 7th of June, 1396, that "he was extending the kingdom on all sides"[103]. In another record issued a fortnight later[104] an idea is obtained of the accessions made to the state under him. It adds Rangiṇi to the districts of Chandragutti, Banavāsi and Konkaṇa already comprised in the old Goa-Gutti province.

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[100] Varde Valavlikar, *op. cit.*, p.

[101] *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVIII, p. note. (New series).

[102] *MAR*, 1941, No. 36, p. 202.

[103] *E.C.*, VII, Sk. 241, Dhātu Saṁvatsara, *s* 1, corresponding to 7th June, 1396.

[104] *E.C.*, VII, Hl. 71; Ś.S., 1318 sandu varttamāna 19 neya Dhātu Saṁvatsarada āśāḍha *s* 15, Wednesday, Sōma grahaṇa. This date, except for the Ś.S.. 1319, wrongly given as 1318, is verifiable. It corresponds to 21st June 1396, and on this day there did occur a lunar eclipse.

Rangiṇi or Rangna was a fort in the Bahmani territory, fifty-five miles to the south of Kolhapur, almost on the eastern boundary of the present Savantwadi state[105]. The fight for this fort is referred to in a viragal, dated Yuva Samvatsara Asvija *s* 12 or September 26, 1395. In recording the death of a hero who fell on this occasion, the viragal observes that Chinnaya Nāyaka, "the son of the mahāsāmantādhipati Gopaya Nāyaka in the capture of Rangiṇi fought with the Turushkas, broke their arms, and giving up his body in the service of his lord ascended Vaikuṇṭha"[106]. Now the second epigraph of Baicha cited above, mentions among his *birudas* that of "Rangiṇi pratāpa" or "Rangiṇi glory"[107]. Evidently, he could not have won this title without distinguishing himself in the battle for Rangiṇi. And it is not improbable that having succeeded Mādhava as the warden of the marches, he commanded the expedition himself, and brought it to a successful issue. Doubtless, it is owing to this great exploit that he is styled, "the foremost among the ministers" (Mahāmantrīśvara)[108].

Thus following up the victories of Mādhava, Baicha brought the country which lay between Konkaṇa and Toragal under Vijayanagara sway. The boundaries of the Chandragutti province were extended so far to the north, that the whole of the present Balgaum district and a part of Kolhapur were included in it. A short Kanarese inscription on a column at Makaravaḷḷi, in the Hangal taluka of the Dharwar district, dated Ś.S. 1321, or A.D. 1399-1400, states that "while Harihara, the son of Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Vīra Bukka Voḍeya, was ruling",

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105 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 5, 319.

106 *E.C.*, XII, Tp. 44.

107 *E.C.*, VII, Hl. 71.

108 *Ibid.*, *MAR*, 1942, No. 36, pp. 201 & 225.

no doubt in peace and wisdom, Baichaṇṇa Voḍeya was "in charge of the government of Gove"[109].

Baichaṇṇa held this viceroyalty till 1406, when he was transferred to Kanara. His earliest inscription in his new province is the one at Coondapoor, dated, Ś.S. 1328 or A.D. 1406[110]. The following year (Ś S. 1329) he is referred to as being in charge of the Mangaḷūra-rājya as well[111]. There is no mistaking that this was the erstwhile Viceroy of the Konkan, for another inscription of his, found at Subramaṇya, expressly states that "Baichappa-Voḍeya of Gove was governing Mangaḷūra-rājya[112]. There is yet another inscription in the South Kanara district which brings out clearly his associations with Konkan. This is an epigraph of Ś.S. 1330 or A.D. 1408. In recording the assignment of the gold due to the king from certain lands in the temple of Shankaranārāyaṇa at Paṇḍiyeśvara, Baichaṇṇa is here mentioned again as "of Gove" who was then "governing the Barakūra-rājya"[113].

There are no military achievements to the credit of the Viceroys that followed. Vijayanagara had now reached its farthest limits in the north and the north-west; and with hardly any wars to fight, these probably turned their attentions to administrative problems and to the task of securing the economic well-being of the people. But it is characteristic of our documents that they are a record mostly of wars and sieges, and the victories of peace which are no less stirring, go in them without as much as a passing notice. As a result these

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109 Fleet, "Copper-plate grants of the Kings of Vijayanagar", *JBBRAS*, XII, p. 341.

110 368 of 1927.

111 Rangacharya, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, I, Sk. No. 116, p. 858.

112 3 of 1929-30.

113 609 of 1929-30.

Viceroys could not but be merely a succession of names.

Sāvaṇṇa is the first name we come across in the galaxy of these later satraps of Goa-Chandragutti. An inscription of his on a stone tablet at the Vīrabhadra temple at Sangur in the Hangal taluk has it that "Savanna, the son of Daṇḍanāyaka Nāgaṇṇa was governing at Gove as the minister of Devaraya[114]. This epigraphical record was issued in the Madana Samvatsara, S. S. 1334 or A.D. 1412-13.

The next Viceroy on the throne of Goa was one Nanjaṇṇ Gosāvi. It cannot be said for certain if he is the Nanjaṇṇa Voḍeyar, mentioned in a record dated July 3, 1380[115]. He is described in an inscription at Nageshi, Goa, dated 1413 (S. S. 1335) as "clever and prudent in religion"[116]. In 1417 Virūpadaṇāyaka is found in charge of the Goa-Gutti kingdom. We are told that he was then residing at Chandragutti[117]. Mallappa Voḍeya was the next governor. An inscription of 1420 describes him as Baichaṇṇa's younger brother[118]. If this be the Baichaṇṇa of the Rangiṇi glory, the far-famed Viceroy of Goa-Chandragutti, Mallappa could not have been the Viceroy of the same name who had to rush all the way from Kanara to Goa with reinforcements, for, as has already been indicated, Baichaṇṇa himself was a protégé of Mādhava and had not yet reached Viceregal status. About the year 1425, a new Viceroy, Triyambaka-deva, appears to have been appointed. He is styled the glory of his (Immaḍi Deva Rāya's) arm[119]. How did he earn his title? We are

114 Fleet, *art. cit.*, p. 341.
115 *MAR*, 1930, No. 34, p. 173.
116 Varde, *art. cit.*, p. 107.
117 *E.C.*, VII, Sk. 37.
118 *E.C.*, VII, Sk. 288.
119 *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 565.

told in the Burhān-i Ma'āṣir that in 1430, as a consequence of disorders in the Konkan, Aḥmad Shāh I ordered Khalaf Ḥasan Basri to proceed there, and that the latter in a very short time put down the recalcitrants and pacified the country[120]. It is possible that Vijayanagara was inciting the chief of Sangamēśwar against the Bahmanī Sultan, and endeavouring to extend its sphere of influence at the expense of its rival. And almost certainly it was Triyambaka-dēva the Viceroy of the Kōnkan that was mainly responsible for this vigorous policy.

The next Viceroy, Hampeya-Rāya was the son of the imperial treasurer, Arasappa[121]. An important document of his regime is the copper plate charter dated 1431 A.D., which he granted to Viśvēśvarāraṇya Srīpāda, a guru, who resided in the Kallu-maṭha at Hampe. The charter provides for the food offerings and perpetual lamp of the god Vidyāśaṅkara, and food for the ascetics of a matha at Andaravaḷḷi. We are told that this village was situated in the Chenamahaliyanad in the Chandraguttiya-veṇtheya, and was rechristened Viśvēśvarāraṇyapura after the grant. In this way, the record not only gives an idea of the administrative units of the Goa-Gutti province, but in itself is a concrete illustration of the methods pursued in such important matters as sale and purchase. Indeed, it speaks highly of the system on the whole, that the governor, who is the donor as in the present case, should have been compelled to purchase the village from the nād, after making due compensation to all rightful claimants and that the sale deed should have been registered at the office of the Karaṇika (accountant) of the Goa-Gutti province[122].

Hampeya-Rāya was succeeded by one Irugappa-Voḍe-

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[120] King, *Burhan-i Maasir*, p. 60.

[121] *E.C.*, VII, Sk. 40.

[122] *MAR*, 1934, No. 27, p. 120.

ya. Says a record of 1442, "when the Mahārājādhiraja rāja-paramēśvara vīra-Dēva-Rāya-mahārāya was in Hastināvati, ruling a peaceful kingdom, his minister Irugappa-voḍeyar along with Chandragutti, was ruling Gove[123]. After him, Mallarasa Voḍeyar took charge of the viceroyalty. He is reported in 1445 to have been governing the kingdom of Goa-Guṭti, shortened in the epigraph doubtless for reasons of space, into Gutti[124]. There can be no reasonable doubt that he also ruled over Konkana, for in another record of the same year (S.S. 1367) he is called "Gove-Chandraguttiya Mallarasa", that is to say Mallarasa of the Goa-Gutti province[125].

It was probably after Mallarasa's regime that Konkaṇa was detached from Chandragutti and made a separate province with its own Viceroy. Chandragutti was contiguous to Vijayanagara, and seems to have been annexed to the old province of Hampe[126]. This is borne out by the fact that the treasurer Lingappa Voḍeya, the governor, referred to as "protecting Chandragutti, belonging to the Vijayanagara ṭhāṇa"[127]. Though this record in dated in 1454, it is likely that the partition took place a few years before, probably in 1448, when Mallarsa appears to have relinquished his duties of Viceṛoy of the Goa-Gutti province. A viragal dated Margaśira S.S. 1371 (1449) has it that in a dispute between Baichaṇṇa Vodeya, the son of Triyambaka-dēva, and Lingappa-

[123] *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 489; Introd., p. 12.

[125] *E.C.*, VII, Sk. 36. The cyclic year Rākshasa given in this record is wrong. It should be Raktakśi.

[126] *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 167.

[127] *Ibid.*, in an inscription of 1445, *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 566, a Viceroy, whose name ends in the letter *sa*, the rest of the word being effaced, is referred to as protecting Chandragutti. I think he is better identified with Lingappa the inscription using another form of the same name, viz., Lingarasa. This is supported by the chronology we have adopted independent of this record according to which he seems to have been appointed in 1448.

vodeya, Baichaṇṇa raided the village of Andaravaḷḷi[128]. The inscription is silent as to the point at issue. Nevertheless, it makes it abundantly clear that the parties to the dispute were high officials of Vijayanagara, Baichanna Vodeya being the son of Triyambaka-deva, the governor of Goa-Gutti kingdom presumably in 1425, and Lingappa being the treasurer Lingappa-vodeya spoken of above. Now, if it be granted that they were two provincial governors, we may be certain that Baichaṇṇa was the governor of Goa.

Baichaṇṇa of course could hardly have been the last Vijayanagara Viceroy of the Konkan. If he was appointed to the Goa viceroyalty, when Mallarasa's tenure came to an end, in 1448, he may have retired from this post sometime in 1454. But we know for a fact tha the Vijayanagara dominion in the Konkan continued down to 1470, and if we assign a little over 5 years to each of the Viceroys, it would follow that Baichaṇṇa had at least three successors. As, however, documents are not forthcoming for the period, it is impossible to know who these Viceroys may have been.

Still, some idea is obtained from Bahmani sources of the political activities in which they were engaged. It has been indicated above how in 1430 the Bahmanī Sultan was compelled to dispatch Khalaf Hasan Basri to bring about the pacification of the Konkan. But the Rāja of Sangamesvar proved unrepentant. He would repeatedly rise in rebellion against the Sultan, his overlord, urged,

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[128] *E.C.*, VII, Sb. 473. Andaravalli is described in this inscription as being situated in 'Muraligeya-nāḍ'. This, however, seems to be a wrong reading of the word. For, if as it appears from the Kannaḍa original, some of the letters in the word are effaced, there is much in support of the view that the original form was, as in No. 27 of *MAR*, 1934, p. 27, above cited, Chinamahalyanād, unless, of course, both the readings are correct. Andaravalli, however, would appear to have soon got rid of the new name given to it—Viśveśvarāraṇyapura.

no doubt as before, by the Vijayanagara satrap at Goa, which was hardly at a distance of fourteen farsakhs from Samgameśvar[129].

Khwāja Maḥmūd Gawān, the famous wazir of the Bahmanīs, saw clearly that unless a blow was dealt at Vijayanagara, "the centre of all mischief", by annexing the Gōve-rajya or province, the subjugation of the Konkan could never be achieved. Accordingly, after the rebellion of Samgameśvara had been suppressed, he decided to move his troops on Goa. While the main army was being put in the field, Asạd K͟hān and Kishwar K͟hān were sent ahead with a few troops, and Gawān's son, 'Ali Malikul-tujjār, sought to create a diversion by proceeding against the "Vijayanagara forts". It seems that while Asad Khan and Kishwar Khan were waiting for the latter in Goa, the panic stricken citizens sent deputations to these commanders to arrange terms of surrender. It would appear from this that the Viceroy of Goa did not have sufficient forces at his command to oppose the advancing enemy, and that he actually fled, leaving the doomed city to its fate. Thus blockaded by sea[130] and land the undefended capital made its surrender on 4th February, 1472 (20-8-876)[131]. The Muslims thus became possessed of this prosperous seaport without shedding a drop of blood[132], and Vijayanagara passed out of the Konkan never again to set foot on its soil.

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[129] *Riyadul-Insha*, "To a wazir", LV, 94 B as in Sherwani, *Mahmud Gawan*, p. 137, *n* 60.

[130] Ferishta-Briggs, II, p. 485 says that the Khwāja had sent a fleet of 120 vessels to attack it by sea. Ferishta gives the date as A.H. 875 or A.D. 1470, which shows again how unreliable he is as regards chronology.

[131] *Riyad.*, "To the Sultan of Gilan", XXXVIII, 82, as in Sherwani, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-39, *n* 66.

[132] Cf., *Ibid.*, p. 183.

Naturally enough, Maḥmūd was highly pleased with his prize. Writing to his friends, he describes Goa as "the envy of the islands and ports of India and famed for its fine climate, its cocoanuts and betelnuts as well as for its springs, canals and plenty of sugarcane and betel leaf"[133]; and again, "owing to the abundance of its trees and springs it is like the mirror of the Grove of the Genii and a copy of the Cistern of Plenty"[134]. In Goa the

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[133] *Riyadul-Insha*, "To a wazir", XLV, 94 B, as in Sherwani, *op. cit.*, p. 138, *n* 62.

[134] *Riyadul-Insha*, "To Maulana Jami", XXXIX, 86B, as in Sherwani, *loc. cit.*, *n* 63.

NOTE: The authenticity of the three sets of copper plates issued on the occasion of the solar eclipse in the Prajapati Samvatsara, S.S. 1313, to the Brāhmaṇas of Manchalapura, Chaudala and Kochre by Mādhava has been called into question, among others, by the late Dr. Bhau Daji, Rev. H. Heras, and Mr. W. R. Varde Valavlikar. The first two scholars speak of the Manchalapura plates only. As to Dr. Daji's objection, it must be pointed out that he had no first-hand acquaintance with these records and formed his opinion from a copy supplied to him from Goa (*JBBRAS*, IX, 227-28), an opinion which he does not support with any reasons. Fr. Heras bases his objection on two grounds: (*a*) "the trend of the document is different from that of the grants of the Vijayanagara rulers"; and (*b*) that the "document errs when saying that Harihara 'had established the throne of Goa' ". (Heras, "Pre-Portuguese Remains in Portuguese India"). As to his first ground of objection it may be noted that the Manchalapura grant of Mādhava is exactly similar to the Kanvapura grant of Baichaṇṇa Voḍeya. Both commence with an invocation to the god Gaṇapati, with the only difference that in the former there is also an invocation to the preceptor Vidyāraṇya. The signature on both is "Srī Triyambaka Srī", which is quite as valid as the usual "Srī Virūpāksha (Cf., *MAR*, 1941, No. 36, with Pissurlencar, *art. cit.*, pp. 46—48), for the reason that the former ones are documents executed by provincial governors, Mādhava and Baicha, whose patron deity was *Triyambaka*, while the others are of Imperial execution, and *Virūpāksha* was the family deity of the Emperors. In formulating his second ground of objection Fr. Heras was obviously misled by the slip of the translator in making Harihara II establish the throne at Goa. What the inscription actually says is that "by his order" Mādhava Mantri (with all epithets) was on the throne of Goa. It must be said that the incisive mind of Fr. Heras found this document so perfect in all other respects that he was compelled to acknowledge

Khwāja had indeed won for his master a pearl of great price.

"that (it) perhaps records real grants made by Mādhava". Indeed, if we take the internal evidence into account, there should be no doubt as to its authenticity: Mādhava's father's name is correctly mentioned as 'Chaundi-bhatta'; moreover, the epithet "Upanishanmārga-pravartakāchārya may be said to correspond to "Upanishanmārga-pratisṭhāguru" of the earlier records. The same may be said of the other two plates.

In the light of this criticism, we may next consider the objections of Mr. Valavlikar, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-106 note. The reply to this objection as regards the gōtra is that Bhāradvāja is merely a sept of the Angirasa gōtra. As to Vidyāraṇya, who, he contends, was not the preceptor of Mādhava, it may be taken as a mistake for Vidyāśankara, and this, as we have said above, may have been a name by which Kriyāśakti also was known (Cf. *MAR*, 1941, p. 169). The date, which he next calls in question, is given correctly by the Chauḍala grant as Prajāpati Samvatsara, Chaitra 15 Ś.S. 1313, Wednesday; while in mentioning it as Vaisākā *b* 15 Wednesday and Chaitra *b* 15 Tuesday of the same year, the Kochre and the Manchalapura plates are erring as to the month and the week-day respectively. Such mistakes, however, though undoubtedly serious, are all too common in inscriptions, which are none the less declared genuine. They argue carelessness on the part of the composer and acquiescence on that of the administration. Nor is Mr. Varde Valavlikar himself altogether free from this taint. He says that in the Prajāpati Samvatsara Ś.S. 1313, the solar eclipse occurred only on a new-moon day in the month of Vaiśāka which fell on a Tuesday. But a reference to Pillai, *An Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. IV, p. 384, proves him wrong, and the composer of the Chaudala grant right.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF INDIAN ART MOTIFS

BY

RADHA KAMAL MUKERJEE, M.A., PH.D.

Man everywhere seeks to achieve or contemplates a reconciliation between himself and the world to which he belongs. This is the harmony or integration between Being and Becoming which the concrete world of human experience denies him. In the metaphysical harmonies of Being and Becoming which man realises also as cosmic rhythms of matter and motion, life and mind we have in the ultimate analysis the genesis of art. Thus great art is spiritual; the fine arts are divine.

The artist expresses in his images the mysteries of life and the world that have an impersonal and universal significance for the race, nation and collectivity. Or his representations of men and situations approximate to types that are widely understood and accepted. Or, again, such representations express concrete personal moods and situations of the artist that are somewhat removed from universal and impersonal attitudes and experiences. On the basis of this distinction art motifs may be classified into archetypes, types and individuals. Jung has made us familiar with the conception of archetypes in myths and fables that are derived from the collective unconscious as contrasted with the personal unconscious. It is well-known that many myths, legends, fairy tales and symbols are similar or even identical among different peoples, portraying in typical images their inner and unconscious psychic drama. The psychological mechanism behind all this is that as the unconscious forces in life or the incomprehensible forces of nature

are externalised in forms of images and myths, these cease to be disturbing and disintegrating, but rather incomparably usefully fuction in aiding man's inner adjustment against the uncanny living depths of the world and of the psyche. The background of the formation of phantasy, myth, art and religion is the same.

Man through the ages figured the super-sensible and the unconscious in beneficient and protective image-forms that have given complete satisfaction to his heart and intellect. Primitive art fashioned many animal symbols, such as dragons, serpents, crocodiles and monsters which may be regarded as magical offerings in order that the hunting tribe might be successful in the chase of the figured animals. These image the savage's raw unconscious urges and desires and his attempt at a psychic adjustment through art which arose from the same unconscious background as magic, myth and region by way of externalising the sanguine instincts. Gradually the so-called Venus of primitive sculpture appeared, imaging the anima which was related both to the fruitfulness of the soil and to the dark, uncanny and elfin nature of the unconscious life. Her fecundity is powerfully expressed by the exaggerated size of her breasts. Whether the votive figures were connected with fertile rites and magical sacrifices or not, the archetypes of the primitive Venus, as fairy, goddess or as demoniac woman, characterically released the unconscious. As civilisation progresses not merely animals, once tribal totems and personal fetishes but now associated with god-ideas, but also heroes, fairies, gods and goddesses are represented by archetypal images that drain the unconscious and assure the stability of the social order. It is inevitable that these archetypes that denote the symbolic figures of the view of the world and man's relation to it, must be modified in the social and ethnic setting.

Each region or people would define the archetypes in its appropriate manner according to its objective experiences. Egyptian art was, for instance, largely dominated by the super-sensible aspect of the animal, such as the lion or the bull, and in numerous theomorphic archetypes the artist sought to convey something of the mysterious reality of animal nature as embodying the order and rhythm of the world.

In Hindu art, there are theomorphic myths and images such as Nara-Simha (the man-lion), Ganeśa (with the face of an elephant), Daksha Prajāpati (the man-goat) Haya-grīva (with the face of a horse) and Vajra Vārāhī (with the face of a sow), not to speak of the Yakshas, Nāgas and Kinnaras. But early in the evolution of Indian civilisation human and social values asserted themselves in art and religion. The inner harmonies at the heart of the world were expressed by these in anthropomorphic terms. Secondly, in the higher level of culture man's judgment and scale of values as well as elements of abstraction, conceptualisation, condensation and elaboration are apparent in the forms of the archetypes. Art and religion, for instance, would present these in less native and understandable forms than myths, fables and fairy tales that would not disguise much the unconscious psychic processes. There is, however, no doubt that it is the myths, legends and tales which first give an explicit form to the archetypes that are then fashioned and elaborated by art and religion as traditional and dogmatic symbols that are immediately accepted and comprehended by man as solemn and sublime through the centuries. In the Orient myth natively articulates the archetypes, art beautifies them, morality cherishes and religion adores them.

In Asia human emotions and social feelings were fashioned and moulded in supernatural cast, expressed in

a transcendental context from which the social feelings derive their profoundest significance. Thus the archetypes and symbols are at once metaphysical and ethical in their content, adapted at once to the intellect of the *elite*, and the feelings and aspirations of the common people. One of the earliest and yet majestic archetypes in Oriental art is that represented by the image of Buddha in his attainment of enlightenment. Gautama obtained his enlightenment centuries ago. This is a historical occurrence. But that the Buddha is in the process of attainment of Nirvāṇa in the heart of every sentient creature, nay in inanimate matter, even in the innumerable sands of the Ganges, is an eternal cosmic truth that Buddhist art has expressed. The fathomless existence of Buddhahood or Being is something more than the immortality of the individual in Buddhism. The Buddha is not a superhuman individual or God who reveals himself to the world in a single incarnation. In the heart of every living creature the Buddha or Being is ceaselessly manifest through a continuous sequence of births and deaths. We are not referring here to the later Mahayana conception. In early Buddhist literature, we come across the term Bodhisattva which means any person destined to become a Buddha in this or some future existence, Gautama himself going through previous births as man, animal or fairy, and also unequivocally stating "I am neither man, Yaksha or Gandharva" so as to stress his primordial metaphysical essence. Buddha is also described even in early Pali canons as the Eye of the World, and the Ineffable man. It is accordingly in a cosmic background of the need of enlightenment for every kind of creature that early Buddhist art gave us the archetype of the Buddha image as crossing the boundaries of time and space. The Buddha and Bodhisattva images at Sarnath magnificently com-

bine the older tradition of the yogi in his detachment from the world with the grace and beauty of the human body, itself full of raptures. Buddha's poses, gestures and attitudes, which may have originated in special incidents in the life of Gautama and in myth and history thus obtain a timelessness in art reassuring to the individual soul its spiritual strength and destiny and complete assurance and freedom from fear in the pursuit of Dharma. A similar masterpiece is the picture of the Bodhisattva, perhaps Avalokiteśvara, depicted in the Ajanta fresco amidst a gorgeous procession of youth and beauty, love and sport. Music and dance, fruits and flowers, sunshine and shadow, love-making, dice-playing, gossiping, play of children, gathering in the Royal court as well as the life of Buddha, religious ritual and offering are all there covering walls, ceilings and pillars; past, present and future as these well out from the flow of narration of the Buddha's birth legends intermingle; the beholder becomes saturated with the movements, gestures and moods of men and women as he looks at the scences painted as if seen simultaneously in front and from above and from below. The rock surface itself remains incalculable, opening its contents like the unconscious from all angles and from the variegated settings of houses, palaces and scenery which confine in their rhythmical frames the activities of episodes and moments of the narration. Interspersed amidst this pageantry of social life, with its many tense emotions and movements, set within the greater oscillations of the rhythm of life are the figures of Buddha and the Bodhisattva, serene and majestic, brooding over the transience of sensual delights and feeling an unbounded compassion for all whose hearts are set on these. Art here presents the life of the world in all its sensuous perfection and delights with an abundant sympathy. It depicts the luxuriant fullness of woman's

breasts and hips, their langour and passionate gestures, as emotions sway them, with a wonderful veracity. There is no parallel in the world history of art of this frank and passionate apotheosis of woman who is depicted as gossiping, love-making or dancing, in repose, standing, or swinging, in her toilet, in play with pet animals and flowers or in lamentation. But in her gaiety she has finesse, in her amours she has dignity, and in her grief she has patience, as every gesture, every glance and every movement of her tell us. She is the eternal mystery, to whom mankind turns with profound wonder and adoration in her infinite moods, studied and reproduced by the artist with the most discriminating taste and painstaking care. She is in fact the symbol of the joy and perfection of the sensible world. The charm and grace of the woman's body epitomise the full glory and beauty of the sensible world as it rises to perfection in Being. More than the beauty of women or the display of jewellery and ornaments, drapery and flowers, green plants and luscious fruits, the Ajanta frescoes stress, however, the beauty of the super-sensible. Rarely have the harmonies and rhythms of the sensible and super-sensible world, of Being and Becoming, been so in successfully blended as in the art of Ajanta. Metaphysically speaking, Buddha is Being, the mind in the repose of Nirvāṇa. The Bodhisattva is the aspiration of all sentient creatures as numerous as the sands on the banks of the Ganges for Buddhahood which is to be attained by everybody. The Bodhisattva strives to attain Nirvāṇa not only for himself, but for all, helping all beings sentient to obtain the Buddhahood. The entire world of Becoming is thus put on the path to Being by the wisdom, compassion and heroism of the Bodhisattva. How thoughtfully is the subtle difference between Buddha and the Bodhisattva limbed in Ajanta: the former more

serene, immaculate and impersonal, having obtained the placidity of Nirvāṇa so beautifully rendered by the pose and stability of the seated yogic meditative pose; the latter youthful, radiant with compassion and goodwill for all and in a standing posture whose eloquent rhythms express a deep and gracious solicitude of one who has taken the vow that he would not enter into Nirvāṇa before all creatures are liberated. It is the spirit of the Buddha and the Bodhisattva that sets the norm of perfection of all creatures from the Brahmanical gods, Gandharvas, Kinnaras and Vidyādharas, kings and beggars, to animals. It is the Being of Wisdom who is the beacon lamp of spiritual ascent for all, the Leader of the Caravan, and who also binds everybody together, gods, men and animals, by his all-encompassing compassion. In the frescoes at which hundreds of monks gazed in their lonely hours as they lived in the caves for their meditation, gods, angels and men are shown in sizes and colours that express their moral virtues and imperfections, their rank in the scale of advance to Being. The most illuminated and large-limbed bodies are those of the Bodhisattvas. Kings come next, handsome, graceful, luxurious and amorous. For have not kings like Asoka, Bimbisara, Kanishka and Harsha accepted the teachings of the Dharmma? Women are smaller, shy, slender and fragile. Their amorous poses and gestures are like rituals, chaste, subtle and sensitive. For are not the overtones of a cosmic existence discerned in human loves and passions? Priests and the kings' counsellors are depicted as smaller than the kings. Traders and artisans are yet smaller, while of diminutive size are the slaves, beggars, eunuchs and jesters. The colours of men, grey, yellow, red, green and black, are different according to the moral attributes their caste or occupation implies. The slave and the eunuch are black. The

hunter is reddish brown or light yellow or grey. No infamy or indignity is, however, attached to the various occupations and castes, including the hunter's or the slave's. For the paintings illustrate that the life of the householder, performing his familiar and social duties and obligations, is as significant as the life of saints and ascetics who renounce the world. What is stressed is that it is not lust, greed, cruelty and injustice but tenderness, compassion and sacrifice that yield the rich harvest in future births of lasting prosperity and happiness according to the inexorable law of *Karma*. No matter whatever the occupation or station in life, a king, a Brahmin, an ascetic, a beggar or an animal, it is the ideal of supreme self-forgetful tenderness and sacrifice of the Bodhisattva that measure one's true worth in the scale of living. As a matter of fact the Bodhisattva through his merit of sacrifices in a thousand previous births acquires the privileged position of being born as a Prince or Dānapati wearing on his head the royal mukuṭa, but yet as the conqueror in the fullness of his detachment, modesty and compassion. The Bodhisattva ideal effects a spiritual transformation of worldly life and exalts it. It is this identification of the worldly and contemplative life which underlies the universal quality of the Ajanta paintings and explains the artist's inexhaustible delight in the beauty of the woman's form and in sensuous perfection. He is an adept in depicting the soft sinuous curves of female figures or the patterns of drapery, the liveliness and grace of birds and animals, or the tenderness and delicate movement of leaves and flowers, while in radiant supernatural figures he reveals his profound appreciation of the transcendental majesty of the Buddha and the Boddhisattva. Addressing the Bodhisattvas Santideva of Valabhi, probably a contemporary of the Ajanta painters, ardently sang thus: "Formed in the

hearts of the large, perfumed, and fresh lotuses, and developing their bright bodies, the Boddhisattvas issue from the flower-cups as they open to the rays of the sun and are born under his eyes in their perfect beauty . . . . . "Behold ! raising their eyes at the sight of the blazing Vajrapani upright in the sky, the damned feel themselves delivered from their sins, and fly to join him with joyous haste. Behold ! a shower of lotuses rains down mingled with scented water. What bliss." On the fresco the Bodhisattva holds the symbolic blue lotus in his right hand, while his inexpressibly charming face is tinged with the tender, human sadness due to world misery and at the same time radiant with divine aloofness and serenity. The silent lips over which the word yet hovers, the half-closed eye-lids that yet permit the profoundly compassionate glance to pierce through, the inscrutable gesture of the slender arm that is at once non-chalant and yet lovingly bends down to the suffering of the world, do not these symbolise the blending of the profound pity and tenderness of Hinayana ethics with the transcendence of the Mahayana idealistic metaphysics? To the right of the Bodhisattva stands his young consort, gracious and sweet, bowed in her supplication and pensive in her meditation. Behind them rises a beautiful dream-universe with its aerial chapels, pavillions, fairy gardens and skies filled with sportive spirits of all kinds into which Mahayana absolute idealism has transformed the sensible world. The light that never was on sea and land has given to the painter's world of concrete forms the marvellously elegant and tender shapes of an apparition. The entire sensible and supersensible realm is in the Mahayana conception like a stage, like the city of the Gandharvas that is neither existent nor non-existent. Mahayana mysticism totally abolishes the distinction between Saṁsāra and Nirvāṇa '*Yaḥ kleśas*

sā bodhiḥ, Yas saṁsāras tat nirvāṇam', that which is Sin is also Wisdom, the realm of Becoming is also Nirvāṇa. It is from this mystical intuition that has welled forth an exuberant joy of the artist who has expressed it in the surpassing elegance and delicacy of women, in the Apollonian nobility of kings and nobles, in the gorgeous procession of the multitude and also in the purity and radiance of vegetation, and the strength and sportiveness of animal life. For who can forget the luxuriant vegetation and the lively animal world in the Ajanta paintings? It is an eternal spring-time within the caves at Ajanta with the trees in full blossom, the foliage bluish green and young leaves reddish, while the big ants march off in clusters for the sap and the fruit. Animals are also there in abundance. But all are bound to man in intimate companionship. Gazelle and goose are attracted to man by sweet, affectionate fondness. For the great teaching of the frescoes is the sense of an absolute oneness of life through its different sentient levels. God and Gandharva, Apsara and Kinnara king and beggar, have the same destiny as that of the Bodhisattva. Through a continuous sequence of births and deaths god, man and animal obtain their status in the scale of living according to their good and evil desires and deeds. The pageantry of the king's court, the might of arms, the sports of love, the rhythms of dance, the pleasures of hunting and gambling are all parts of a long scheme of things, a continuous chain of causes and effects binding creatures and scenes together in Saṁsāra until the chain can be snapped by all through the attainment of Buddhahood. In the paintings of Ajanta heaven, earth and the nether world intermingle. Space here is multidimensional. The activities of all sentient creatures in past, present and future lives are seen in a continuous, synoptic vision as in the cinematograph bound together

by the immutable law of *Karma*. In the world of Ajanta time is eternal. Scenes cover walls from top to bottom and then leap to ceilings, contiguous walls, pillars and sides of rocks at all angles. The Being or the Bodhisattva, whether as King, or as some animal like the deer, the horse or the elephant round whom the story fastens is depicted from panel to panel for maintaing the continuity of a series of episodes that cross the boundaries of time and space, extending from the sensible to the supersensible world. Nature comprising the vegetation, the rocks and the clouds is also pictured as sentient, participating with a delicate movement in the vicissitudes of sentient creatures that all live and move in Being. Does not the art of Ajanta echo by these procedures the Buddhist metaphysical conception that it is the Bodhisattva or Being which is the very substance of the sensible world of Becoming, including not merely Nature but also Saṁsāra, all sentient existence? Such is the profound social idealism and undying faith that were uttered by the monk-painters as they worked for several generations in dim light within the caves in that heaven of peace at Ajanta, and laid down the methods and techniques that have guided not only Indian but also Oriental art through the centuries. It is an art that is a hymn of praise to Being and call man and the entire world of Becoming to the joy and silence of Being. It is unique in the history of art in its harmonious blend of ethereality and supernatural atmosphere with the joyousness of the senses, and the sanctity of social obligations.

Buddhist art created in India the archetypes of the Buddha's nativity, renunciation, temptation, enlightenment and charity to all sentient creatures. These are treated not as historical events but as eternal episodes of the realisation of Being and as Buddhism spread from India to Ceylon, Java, Siam, Central Asia,

China and Japan it was these art motifs which were assimilated into the indigenous traditions of art, giving expression to a broad humanistic mysticism that has informed the culture of the Far East and given an accent of calm and dignity to it through the centuries. The figures of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas at Mathura, Sarnath and Ajanta, of the Buddha in contemplation at Anuradhapuram in Ceylon, at Borobodur in Java, at Angkor Vat in Cambodia, at the cave-temples of Yun-Kang and at Horyuji in Japan repeat the same archetype.[1] These are the world's most significant symbols of Being representing at once its serenity, clarity and profundity and the ecstasy of the human frame as it becomes saturated with the inner illumination. The massiveness of volume and the structural coherence and simplicity of design are blended nicely with the fine tracery of the monk's robe and the prince's ornaments that are everywhere defined in linear rhythms of intimate sensibility and with the delicate and refined expression of the over-sensitive hands and fingers that are eloquent of the message from the super-sensible world. Of all the images that at Cambodia with its exquisite divine-human smile reconciling the impersonality of *Nirvāṇa* with a profound pity for the world and its creatures reaches perhaps the summit of expression of the archetype that born of the womb of philosophical Brahamanism in India could not reach such sweet, comprehending and compassionate humanism in the mother country[2]. Not less

[1] For illustrations of the Indian images see Coomaraswamy: History of Indian and Indonesian Art, Plates XL, XLI, XLII, XLVIII, XCVIII, for the Buddha in Java and Cambodia, see Grousset: Civilisations of the East, Vol. II, figures 104, and 139; for the Images at Yun-Kang see *ibid.*, Vol. III, figure 134, and for the Horyuji frescoes, see *ibid.*, Vol. IV, figures 19, 20, and 21.

[2] Le May: Buddhist Art in Siam, figures 79 to 84.

majestic and sublime is the image of Prajñāpāramitā of Eastern Java[3], now in the Leiden Museum, comparable with the Pārvatī image of Southern India in its transcendental serenity and yet human sweetness, and grace not so marked in the Indian prototype. Is there not also a similar contrast between the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of Mathura and Sarnath with those of the Yun Kang Caves? The Chinese types are longer, more flexible and delicate. Eyes and lips are also thinner and more sensitive then in India, sometimes represented by exquisitely carved lines that express a charming, reserved smile one does not usually come across in the Indian archetype. The beautifully designed folds and winglike angles of the drapery and the tremulous inflections of the tender hands emphasise the super-sensible immaterial aspects, but the image is essentially that of a human monk who feels life but not its desires[4]. Saturated also with the sense of human personality are the Bodhisattva images in the Horyuji frescoes in Japan which show richer ornamentation like that of a prince and more meltingly tender limbing of beautiful bodies than their prototypes at Ajanta. And yet what a sweet and harmonious reconciliation between the soft beauty and pride of youth and the metaphysical realisation of the vanity of these is achieved in these Japanese Bodhisattvas. Not that the Indian archetypes never expressed the feeling for human personality. In the school of East Indian painting and sculpture we have, Buddhist images like Buddha, Lokanātha, Maitreya, Manjuśrī and Tārā painted and sculptured with a human mellowness and tenderness

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[3] For the illustration of Prajnaparamita, see Grousset: Civilisations of the East, Vol. II, figure 127 and for Parvati, Havell: The Ideals of Indian Art, Plate XI.

[4] Mullikin and Hotchkis: Buddhist Sculptures at the Yun Kang Caves, plates on pp. 36 and 48.

hardly met with in other parts of India. The Bengal design of the Bodhisattva is characterised by extreme simplicity on the one hand and a fine sense of spatial values on the other while the linear rhythms of drapery and ornaments that mould themselves to the underlying forms of the body give it a right accent of the sweetness and delicacy of Boticelli and the joy and purity of Fra Angelico. Particularly emphasised is the profundity of the Buddhist Tārā with her sideward sway of the hips and gentle compassionate face. Similarly, Gaurī and Pārvatī among the Brahmanical deities in Bengal and Orissa show a sweet motherliness and tenderness in their expression that are not incompatible with their transcendental mystery[5]. The accents of humanism and transcendentalism have varied in different periods and art provinces in India, largely depending on the intensity of religious experience on the one hand, and the degree of artistic sensibility of the people on the other.

It is, however, this delicate dynamic combination of transcendentalism and humanism through which Oriental art solves the mystery of expression of identity of Being and Becoming. In many single images the divinity or Being keeps aloof from mankind, is sometimes indifferent and even severe like the Egyptian statue. Such effect is usually produced by extreme simplicity and solidity of the design and clearly articulated treatment of plastic planes in contrast to sinuous modelling from one plane to another of the body. But again and again the Orient has sought to stress identification. Thus we have myriads

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[5] For illustrations of Manjusri see R. D. Banerjee: Eastern Indian School of Mediæval Sculpture, Plates XXXII and XV, and for a painting of Lokanatha see Bhattasali: Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum, Plate II. For the Image of Tara, see *ibid.*, Plates XX to XXII and R. D. Banerjee: Plate XXXIX; for the Images of Gauri, see Bhattasali, Plate LXVIII and for Parvati see Coomaraswamy, Plate LXXVI.

of images of divinities, so outspokenly filled with the human rapture of contemplation, with the pervasive power of what one may call a 'sensual' spirituality or with the inundation of the human feelings of tenderness compassion and reassurance that art engenders the supreme awareness of life , i.e., of Becoming. The sculptural technique in this case is a happy blending of firmness and coherence of the skeletal frame-work with delicate nervous and incisive modelling of the body and definition of drapery and ornaments in curves of intimate sensibility and elegance with all their complex suggestions of mood and character.

Art can thus express the process of Becoming and transmute the formless into form by discovering unending forms that live eternally in creation, balanced in their plastic rhythm and linear pattern. It takes back in the very same process the form, the life and the world into the lap of Being by directing human emotions into the supernatural channels that brook neither form nor image. The transition from the visible to the intangible is rendered particularly effective in Indian rock-cut sculpture by a dynamic plastic movement that transcends the interests and actions of single figures, or a constellation of figures within a given field, and surges forth into the dark volume beyond. At its best Indian rock-cut sculpture in the Deccan expresses the states of cosmic consciousness of the human soul in the visible form of the metamorphosed human image the contemplation of which leads to the identification of self, the image and the cosmic process until all disappear in the all-filling void to which the plastic rhythm, the light, darkness and depth lead. Just as Indian metaphysics conveys the experience of highest spiritual ecstasy and silence in Being, so does Indian art convey through the integrated volume of the cave, or temple light

and darkness and dynamic movement of the mass the highest æsthetic delight in the cosmic form and the cosmic formlessness.

The human soul in silence, without form and attributes, in its accent of withdrawal is Purusha (Being); the soul in its movement, in its accent of creation and enjoyment, its manifestation of form and attribute within the frame of time and space is Sakti (Becoming).

In Chinese myth these primordial, supplementary forces are described as Yang (male) and Yin (female) "the parents of all nature" that only in conjunction can create anything in the human and the natural world. Agriculture in China is conceived as the outcome of the union between these essential male and female principles. The sun is the Yang and the dew is the Yin. The mountain is the Yang and the mist is the Yin. The Heaven is the Yang, the earth is the Yin. Lao Tzu describing to Confucius the state of spiritual ecstasy, when he sat in meditation utterly motionless, remarked: "I saw Yin, the female Energy, in its motionless grandeur; I saw Yang, the male Energy, rampant in its fiery vigour. The motionless grandeur came up out of the earth; the fiery vigour burst out from heaven. The two penetrated one another, were inextricably blended and from their union the things of the world were born[6]. Chinese art tried to express the harmony that underlies the cosmos in the rhythmical alteration and union of the essential cosmic male and female principles. Art is thus linked in China to the Yin and the Yang, to the Tao or some other metaphysical notion.

With profound psychological understanding Being is often represented in Chinese and Hindu myth, religion and metaphysics as the masculine, and Becom-

[6] Arthur Waley: Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China, p. 33-34.

ing as the feminine in Chinese myth . . . . Prakriti. In India the Sanskrit word for the male principle is Purusha or the Soul or Being and for the female principle is Prakriti or Nature and Becoming. Modern Biology tells us that in each human individual we have the genes or potentialities of the opposite sex and with endocrinal damage or treatment the sexual traits and attributes with which an individual may be born may change. Now in the male individual there is a smaller number of feminine genes that remain incipient and unconscious, but profoundly disturb the psychic life. Jung's conception of the anima as representing aspects of unconscious psychic life may be considered exceedingly relevant in this connection. The anima in Jung is feminine. In oriental experience all aspects of the unconscious that are unconditional, mysterious, and sportive are represented as the feminine. As the unconscious is externalised and imaged in the form of the eternal feminine (Prakriti or Sakti), it ceases to be capricious and dangerous, and man can emerge successfully in his conflict with the repressed complexes. In the average mind these repressed complexes may rise in open rebellion from the unconscious and produce a psychosis. With meditation of and in the images of Prakriti or Sakti, there is a fusion of the conscious and the unconscious and phychosis is prevented. Art and religion draw the conscious into the realm of phantasies and archetypes, and there compel it to live them by performing them. Thus the symbolic process of art and religion supersedes a living person by traditional archetypes for the assimilation of the ego and brings about a transformation of the personality. For childhood, for youth and for old age myth, art and religion in Asia have produced various archetypes which came upon the people's consciousness as active personalities. For the child Sakti

is embodied in the supremacy of the mother represented as the Mother of Heaven and Madonna. For the youth Sakti Sports as Isis Aditi, Saraswati, Tara, Parvati, Radha or Venus. For the old when feminity is at its lowest ebb Sakti appears as the Queen of Heaven. Many are the archetypes of Being and Becoming imaged as male and female, such as Manujuśrī and Prajñāpāramitā, Amitābha and Tārā, Śiva and Śakti, Krishna and Rādhā, and the spirits of Earth and Heaven in China. Art in the East takes up these metaphysical realities and realisations and creates numerous archetypal images of the two divergent aspects of the human soul, the pairs of sexual and metaphysical opposites, Being and Becoming, both full of meaning and in the last analysis inexhaustible. Accordingly the sex dichotomy pervades the universe. All things that are attributes and manifestations of Being are from Prakriti or Sakti, and are Prakriti or Sakti (Becoming). All that is unconditioned and absolute are from Purusha and are Purusha or Siva (Being). Purusha is the essence of the cosmos. Prakriti is his consort. She is the primordial spirit of manifestation, the symbol of illusion (Māyā) the desire of creation or appearance. Hindu metaphysics also speaks of the unity in duality. Thus the cosmic male and female principles are the obverse and reverse pulsations of the same Supernal Essence.

In all such images the male personality or Being is depicted in a universal mood of serene contemplation and profound, cosmic impersonality. But Śakti is full of the joy of life and the beauty of youth and sportively dallies with him and is at the same time the shadow and the mystery, and the terror the abysmal womb of the unconscious. It is, of course, the philosophy and tradition which determine the reciprocal moods of Being and Becoming in these images or states of universal con-

sciousness in unending rhythm that express the inner-life movement going on permanently. Generally speaking, the attitudes of Śiva and Śakti in the Indian images reflect the austere and philosophic aspects of Saiva myth and tradition, while Vaishnava myth and tradition have encouraged a more devotional and humanistic treatment of the art motif. But in Eastern India among the Saiva images the most common are those of Kalyāṇa-Sundara (Marriage) and Umāliṅgana (Mutual Embrace). In the latter the austere, other worldly mendicant embraces his consort on his lap or sportively touches her chin or bosom by way of caress as the latter turns her coy and charming face touched with divinity to him. This divine conjugal embrace symbolises the great metaphysical truth-unity in duality; and indeed, schools of Tantrikism have in their meditation and ritual transfused erotic rapture into a conservation of the flesh and exaltation of the spirit, the sport of Purusha and Prakriti, and the final absorption of the individual soul, the jivatman, into the Being or Paramatman, of Prakriti or Sakti into Purusha.

Throughout Northern India the archetype of Rādhā-Krishṇa, the eternal Woman and the eternal Man, represents the same air of opposites, Being and Becoming, in the vernacular of human love and is reproduced in Vaishnava song and legend, literature and painting, which are most popular among the masses. Sculpture naturally cannot do justice to the devotional mysticism which underlies the *līlā* (sport) of Rādhā and Krishna. That *līlā* or the sport of Being is eternal. Brindaban or the Garden of Dalliance of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa is in every human heart. Rādhā is in every human soul as it responds to the call of the Infinite, the far-off melodious flute of Kṛishna that sounds in the twilight of the subconscious. The abandon of the human soul as it sacri-

fices family honour and caste prestige when it seeks the beloved, and the entire gamut of spiritual moods exhibiting the different degrees of approach to Being can best be represented only in lyrical poems and in paintings. Rajput and Pahari paintings deal with this popular archetype, and nowhere are the relations of poetry and painting closer and deeper than here. Very often a song or a couplet is illustrated by the painting which reveals the specific æsthetic *rasa* centred round the interplay of Rādhā, Kṛishṇa and the milkmaids of Brajabhumi—the souls of men. Painting, song, tale and dance all repeat and strengthen this archetype among the rural masses of India. It is the villagers who deal with these metaphysical truths in their own way in little poems and songs, in their mystery plays and in their devout dances and picturesque journeys in the rainy season And painting gives expression to moods and ideals that spring from the heart of the village population. Rarely is cultivated such art of the people, for the people and by the people.

Among the many episodes of the play of Radha and Krishna that reveal the eternal relations between Being and Becoming and hence are symbolic and eternal, none reaches greater profundity than the representation of *Rāsa Mandala* or Collective Dance in which Krishna or Being by a sort of illusion (*Yoga-māyā*) multiplies his appearances, and dances with the milk-maids (human souls) in a ring, interlaced between each pair, as common to all and special to each. The Being is linked with each and all in an all-embracing love that is the rhythm of the process of creation, the alternation of the seasons, the nuance of human love and the delight of the senses.

Another common device of revealing the intimate relation of Being and Becoming, adopted by Indian myth, religion and art is that of representing the pairs of

opposites such as Siva and Sakti, Krishna and Radha merged in one body, one-half being masculine and the other feminine. The Siva-Sakti in hermaphrodite image is often met with representing a complete subject-object amalgamation such as is postulated by Franz won Baeder's doctrine of androgynous perfectability or the recent doctrine of hermaphroditism. In China this transmutation of sex could not be achieved and thus the Chinese left the nude out of their art. This rejection of the nude has reacted to keep it entirely in the realm of the pornographic as is evinced, by the 'Ch' un Kung' or 'Spung Palaces[7].' Indian Art has accomplished the necessary transformation of sex into the 'expressionistic', representing the feminine principle in disinterested terms of the absolute emotive life, and eloquently revealed the contrast between the two metaphysical masculine and feminine principles, one calm, composed and withdrawn from the world, and the other sportive, guileful and mysterious. This is called Ardhanārīśvara mūrti in which the face, ornaments and apparel are different in the two halves of the body.

We shall now describe the archetype of the dancing Naṭarāja in which the rhythms of creation, preservation and destruction are revealed as the eternal moods of the human soul. The archetype of Naṭarāja in the posture of the Tāṇḍava dance is found not merely in South India but also, though to a much less extent, in other parts of the country. In Bengal we have a variant powerful image, sometimes called Narttesvara in which the rhythm of creation and destruction includes both heaven and the nether world, comprising gods and angels as well as Nāgas (half man and half serpent), Kinnaras and Gaṇas who all witness the majestic dance. Instead of the dwarf under the foot, we have the Lord's vehicle, the bull,

[7] See Danton: The Chinese People, p. 188.

dancing in ecstasy with its face upturned in awe and adoration towards the Lord. Śiva has ten or twelve arms, holding various objects that symbolise the meaning of the posture of renunciation. The Universe Serpent (Nāga Śesha) symbolising the infinite is, for instance, held like a canopy over the head. Or, again, he plays on the lyre (vīṇā) as he dances. By the clapping of His hands He calls all persons immersed in worldly affairs; the skull-cap symbolises the abjuration of worldly desires, while He points by one of His hands to his upraised foot. Altogether the image is vigorous but the movement of the ten or twelve hands and of the feet, and the lesser rhythm of the bull's dance are contained, and the total effect is one of spacious repose and rest. In no art in world history the metaphysical harmonies of Being are revealed in such rhythmic and musical modelling that is calculated to compose the mind, and lead it towards complete renunciation of the flesh and the devil. The paraphernalia of the symbols aids the beholder in his meditation, but the total effect of experience in the image and of the image is the joy of rhythm as renunciation and destruction include in the final analysis all symbols, and concepts, and even the image itself. The beholder ultimately finds as his meditation deepens that rhythm and rest, sound and silence are inseparable, alternate oscillations of his Being as of the phenomena of the world of nature. It is thus æsthetic experience becomes an adjunct of spiritual ecstasy. Cognate archetypes of cosmic dance are those of Tārā, Mārīchi, Kālī and Chāmuṇḍā. In the famous temple of Madura we have a large dancing image of the Devi (Sakti) that resembles in its majestic rhythm Siva's tāṇḍava dance. The earliest form of Buddhist Sakti seems to be represented by the ordinary Tārā, but this gradually developed into the extraordinary images of Vajra-Tārā and Mārichi executed

with rare grace and vigour in Bengal. Here we have also images of Chāmuṇḍā, grim dancing figures with garlands of skulls and bones. Some images have the human corpse underneath symbolising death, while others show a child in the attitude of assurance and hope. It was, however, in the art of Tibetan Buddhism which has continued the traditions of the Buddhist art of the Ganges Valley and the Pala art of Bengal that we find a legion of extraordinary gods and goddesses representing the manifestations of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, on the one hand, and their feminine principles (Śakti) with whom they are conjoined, on the other. A rich and complex symbolism animates this art, whether in bronze images in temples or in paintings on the votive banners in a country where image-making and painting were considered equivalent to spiritual contemplation. The poses, the gestures, the weapons and the colours of the gods and goddesses all represent some metaphysical principles derived from a mystical philosophy.[8] Thus leaving aside the dozen hands and weapons Śamvara, with his crown made of skulls, is coloured blue, while his Śakti is nude, but wears a garland of heads and is coloured red like the pomegranate flower. The trappings are white. Under the left foot lies the corpse of a naked woman with four hands and white trappings and the mace (Khatvāṅga) in one of her hands. Under the right foot we may see a male corpse, blue in colour, girt with a tiger skin, and with four hands also.[8]

According to the text of meditation (Sādhanamālā) the worshipper should conceive himself as the god, the embodiment of void, which is embraced by Nairātmā (the Sakti of the god) whose essence is also void. Thus the meditation leads up from a carnal symbolism that com-

[8] Vide Asiatic Mythology, chapter on the Mythology of Lamaism, p. 170.

pletely drains off the unconscious to a state of consciousness (the Bodhi mind) in which neither existence nor non-existence can be predicated of the deities. The archetypal anima Dākinī, nude and full of amorous passion conceived at one stage as sensual enjoyment and in the final analysis as void was thus helpful in the attainment of pure consciousness. The features of the sow in Dākinī's (Vajravārāhī) face definitely indicate the carnal dispositions that enter completely into the image and are lived and outlived in and through it, the image ultimately standing for Nairātmā or the void in which both the conscious and the unconscious are completely stilled. For centuries in the Ganges Valley, in Bengal, in Nepal and in Tibet, innumerable divinities with their appropriate feminine principles (Śakti) were imaged, each being differentiated from another in attributes and hence in the equipment of heads, arms and weapons. The colours also conceived differently—blue, green, yellow, red, black and white, had a profound spiritual import. A strict set of rules as defined in the text of the Sūtras governed the making and painting of images. Art perhaps was sometimes over-laden with an elaborate and sensual symbolism, and became a handmaid rather than an ally of religion that became too esoteric for the populace. But even in Tibet one may come across elegant and graceful images like those of Dākinī, nude dancing Śaktis of Tantricism, with a fine tracery of head dress and a weird, frenzied laugh. As a matter of fact along with its markedly hieratic character, art in the bleak snow-bound plateau of Tibet exhibits a rare flexbility and even a palpitating voluptuousness of forms with a profusion of ornaments, garlands and flowers and rich suggestive gestures that originated from the influence of the Bengal school. Gupta art may be said to have entered its Byzantine phase in Bengal. This phase reached its culmina-

tion in the Tibetan images conjoined with their Śaktis (Yuganaddha or Tibetan Yab-Yum) that were the vehicles of Tantrika mystical attitudes in which worship and enjoyment were so strangely blended in that snow-bound, inaccessible region.

The elaboration of the archetypes has become most complex in Eastern India and Tibet, and if art has preserved its autonomy under the system of mystical religions and philosophies that developed in this region it must have been a signal achievement. Contrasted with these complex images is the simple gigantic figure of the Trimūrti at the Elephanta cave in India which is considered to be one of the masterpieces of the world's sculpture. It is a three-headed bust representing the three categories of Being or alternating phases of the soul's activity. The central head with its absolute serenity and inwardness, outspokenly translated into a firm exaggerated closing of the lips, is the Being at rest or in the silence of meditation of Himself. The head on the right, loving and compassionate, is the Being as Becoming, symbolising the activity of creation. The head on the left which is grim and somewhat frowning is the Being as transforming, symbolising the activity of withdrawal or destruction. The dominating motif of the icon is the oneness of the Self in its alternate pulsations of activity, withdrawal and repose that are apprehended as rhythms of the cosmic process in the visible universe. The three aspects of the Trimūrti may also be considered as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva according to the Hindu pantheon, representing the three primordial accents or variations of the supreme cosmic Spirit or Being. The three different countenances of Being representing differentiated phases of mind are magnificently reconciled in the same bust by a design exceedingly daring in conception and the result is a profound repose and symmetry symbolising at once

the unity of self-consciousness in each of its original moods and the immanence of self in the cosmos. Rager Fry points out that the success in expressing the idea of diverse emanations of a single essence is largely due to the sublime invention of the three lowering head-dresses which unite into an almost architectural whole, as of a central dome supported by semi-domes[9]. The delicately carved and ornate head dresses and necklaces represent a marked contrast with the extremely simple and massive treatment of body and countenances and like the thin delicate tracery of mantle in the Buddha images give an immaterial and celestial character to the representation. Does not the exaggerated ornamentation of the tiaras and necklaces setting in bold relief the plainly rounded forms of the body and haunting faces also proclaim India's well-tried mode of conquering life and its pleasures? With the illumination of the soul the matted locks of the ascetic and the bejewelled crown of the prince may exchange places. Never have silence and activity, renewal and withdrawal in the soul's dialectical onward march ordered in such perfect plastic harmony and rhythm. Never have the clarity and stillness of the human soul derived from complete identification with the realm of Becoming found such majestic expression in stone. Like the ślokas of the Upanishads and the open and illuminated pages of the mystic's mind, the stones of Elephanta impressively and unequivocally utter this profound message: "Activity is true worship when every act is done for the sake of Śiva or Being; silence, again, is true worship when it is an absolute repose of meditation," and call man to choose the path of self-realization and peace.